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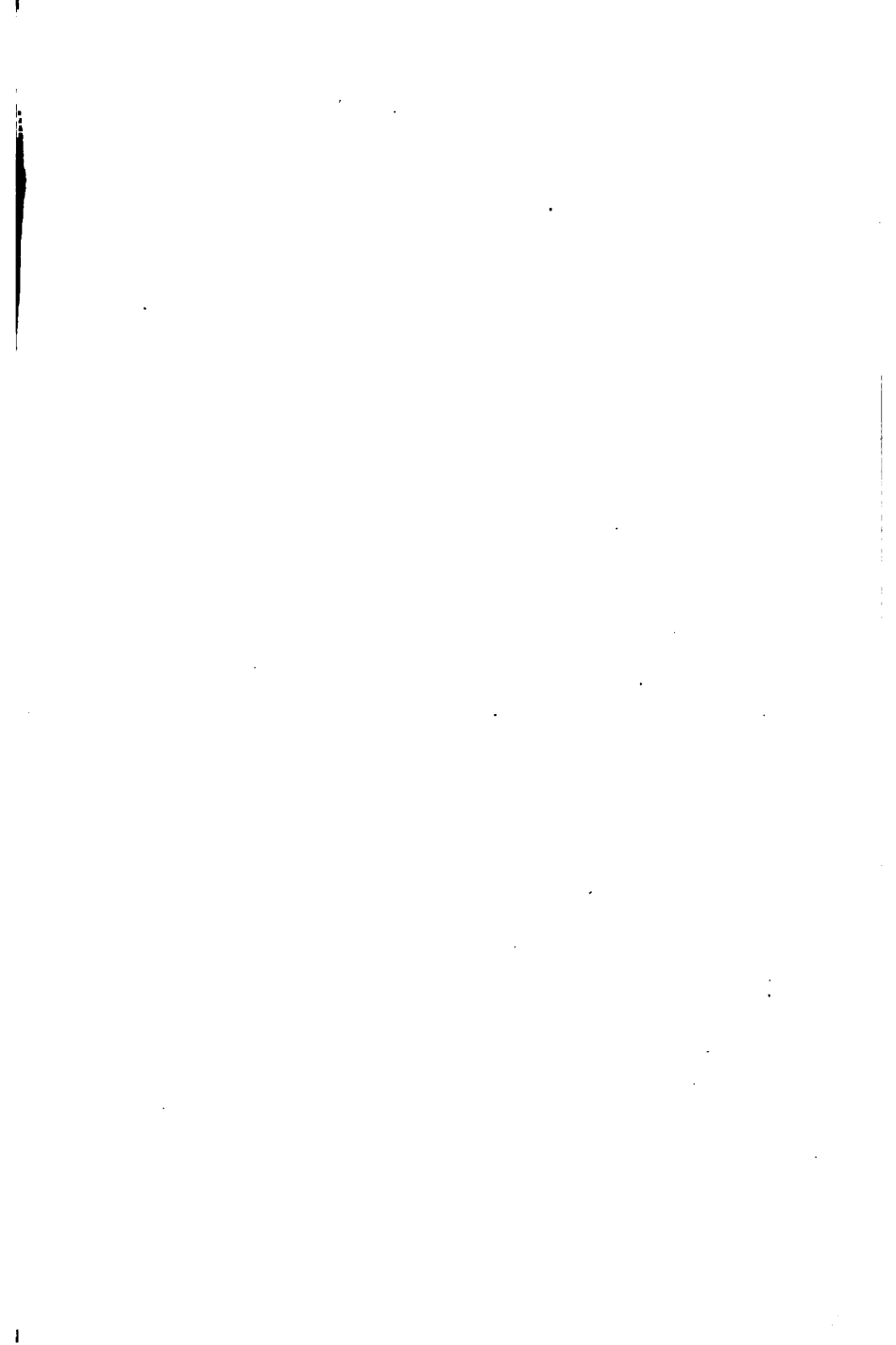
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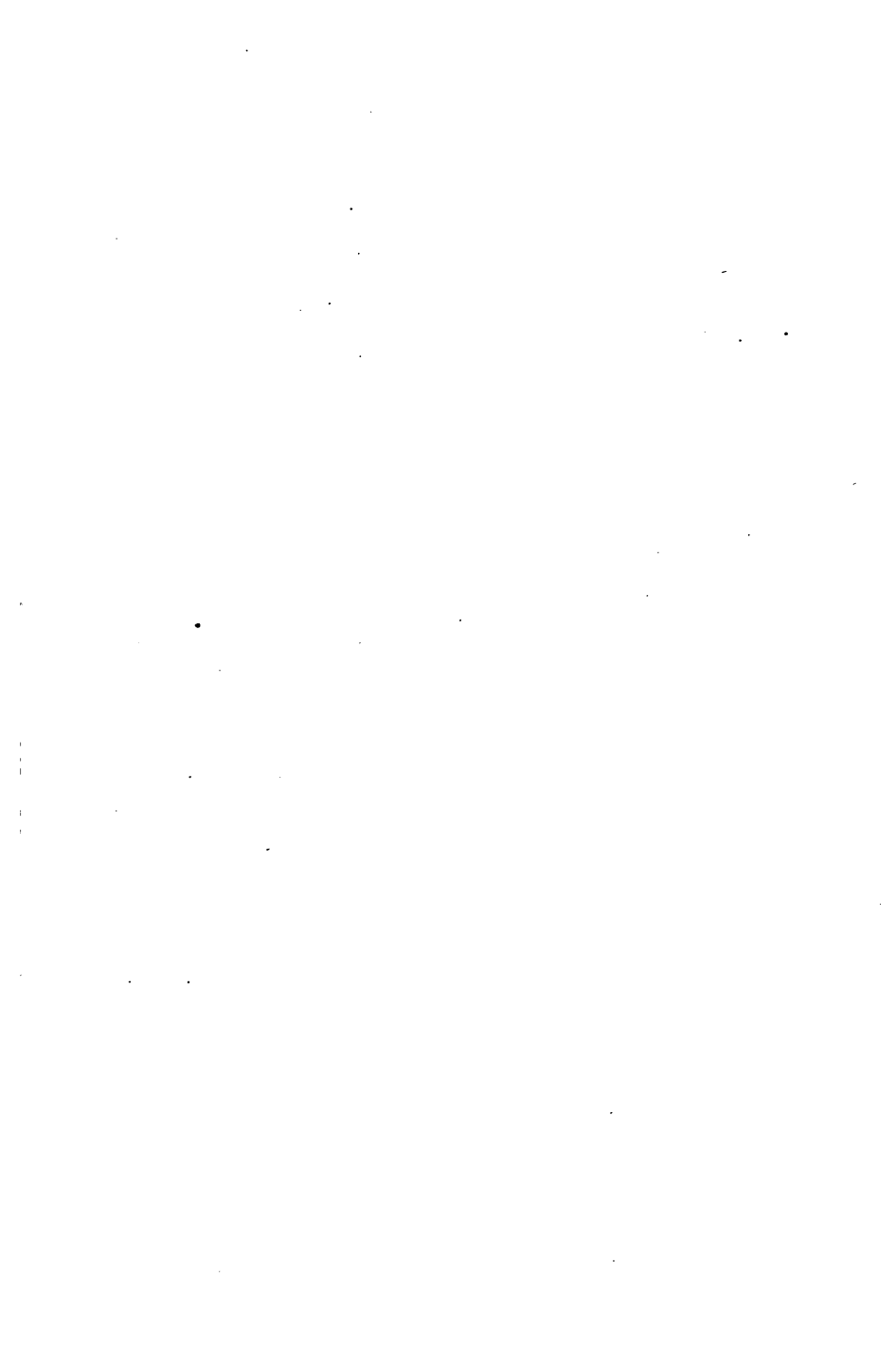


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Heath's Modern Language Series

AN OUTLINE
OF THE
PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY
OF
OLD PROVENÇAL

BY
C. H. GRANDGENT
PROFESSOR OF ROMANCE LANGUAGES IN HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Revised Edition

D. C. HEATH & CO., PUBLISHERS
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PREFACE.

THIS book, which is intended as a guide to students of Romance Philology, represents the result of desultory labors extending through a period of twenty years. My first introduction to the scientific pursuit of Provençal linguistics was a course given by Paul Meyer at the École des Chartes in the winter of 1884-85. Since then I have been collecting material both from my own examination of texts and from the works of those philologists who have dealt with the subject. Besides the large Grammars of the Romance Languages by Diez and by Meyer-Lübke, I have utilized H. Suchier's *Die französische und provenzalische Sprache* (in Gröber's *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, I, 561), the *Introduzione grammaticale* in V. Crescini's *Manualetto provenzale*, the *Abriss der Formenlehre* in C. Appel's *Provenzalische Chrestomathie*, and many special treatises to which reference will be made in the appropriate places. Conscious of many imperfections in my work, I shall be grateful for corrections.

I have confined myself to the old literary language, believing that to be of the greatest importance to a student of Romance Philology or of Comparative Literature, and fearing lest an enumeration of modern forms, in addition to the ancient, might prove too bewildering. I should add that neither my own knowledge nor the material at my disposal is adequate to a satisfactory presentation of the living idioms

of southern France. These dialects have, however, been investigated for the light they throw on the geographical distribution of phonetic variations; my chief source of information has been F. Mistral's monumental *Dictionnaire provençal-français*. Catalan and Franco-Provençal have been considered only incidentally. I have not dealt with word-formation, because one of my students is preparing a treatise on that subject.

Readers desiring a brief description of Provençal literature are referred to H. Suchier and A. Birch-Hirschfeld, *Geschichte der französischen Literatur*, pp. 56-96; A. Stimming, in Gröber's *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, II, ii, pp. 1-69; and A. Restori, *Letteratura provenzale*. For a more extended account of the poets they should consult *Die Poesie der Troubadours* and the *Leben und Werke der Troubadours* by F. Diez; and *The Troubadours at Home* by J. H. Smith. The poetic ideals are discussed by G. Paris in *Romania*, XII, pp. 516-34; and with great fulness by L. F. Mott in *The System of Courtly Love*. The beginnings of the literature are treated by A. Jeanroy in his *Origines de la poésie lyrique en France au moyen âge*, reviewed by G. Paris in a series of important articles in the *Journal des Savants* (November and December, 1891, and March and July, 1892) reprinted separately in 1892 under the same title as Jeanroy's book. Contributions by A. Restori to several volumes of the *Rivista musicale italiana* deal with Provençal music; some tunes in modern notation are to be found in J. H. Smith's *Troubadours at Home*, and in the *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, CX (New Series X), 110 (E. Bohn).¹ Aside from the editions of individual poets, the best collections of verses are those of C. Appel, *Provenzalische Chrestomathie*; V. Crescini, *Manualetto provenzale*; and K. Bartsch, *Chresto-*

¹ There should now be added: J. B. Beck, *Die Melodien der Troubadours*, 1908.

mathie provençale. Earlier and larger anthologies are M. Raynouard's *Choix des poésies originales des troubadours*, and C. A. F. Mahn's *Werke der Troubadours* and *Gedichte der Troubadours*. The only dictionary of importance for the old language is the *Lexique roman* (six volumes) of M. Raynouard, augmented by the *Supplement-Wörterbuch* of E. Levy (now appearing in instalments). The poetic language of the present day can be studied to advantage in E. Koschwitz's *Grammaire historique de la langue des Félibres*.

C. H. GRANDGENT.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., NOVEMBER, 1904.

ABBREVIATIONS AND TECHNICAL TERMS.

- Abl.:** ablative.
Acc.: accusative.
Cl.L.: Classic Latin.
Cond.: conditional.
Cons.: consonant.
Einf.: W. Meyer-Lübke, *Einführung in das Studium der romanischen Sprachwissenschaft*, 1901.
F.: feminine.
Fr.: French.
Free (of vowels): not in position.
Fut.: future.
Gram.: W. Meyer-Lübke, *Grammaire des langues romanes*, 3 vols., 1890-1900.
Grundriss: G. Gröber, *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, 2 vols., 1888-1902.
Imp.: imperfect.
Imper.: imperative.
Intertonic (of vowels): following the secondary and preceding the primary accent.
Intervocalic (of consonants): standing between two vowels.
It.: Italian.
Körting: G. Körting, *Lateinisch-romanisches Wörterbuch*, 2d ed., 1901.
Lat.: Latin.
Levy: E. Levy, *Provenzalisches Supplement-Wörterbuch*, 1894—.
- Ltblt.:** *Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie*, monthly, Leipzig.
M.: masculine.
Nom.: nominative.
Obj.: objective (case).
Part.: participle.
Perf.: perfect.
Pers.: person.
Phon.: P. Marchot, *Petite phonétique du français préhistorique*, 1901.
Pl.: plural.
Pr.: Provençal.
Pres.: present.
Pret.: preterit.
Raynouard: M. Raynouard, *Lexique roman*, 6 vols., 1836-44.
Rom.: *Romania*, quarterly, Paris.
Sg.: singular.
V.L.: Vulgar Latin.
Voc.: H. Schuchardt, *Vocalismus des Vulgärlateins*, 3 vols., 1866-68.
Voiced (of consonants): sonant, pronounced with vibration of the glottis.
Voiceless (of consonants): surd, pronounced without glottal vibration.
Vow.: vowel.
Zs.: *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, 4 to 6 nos. a year, Halle.

SIGNS AND PHONETIC SYMBOLS.

N. B. — Phonetic characters not entered in this list are to be pronounced as in Italian. Whenever it is essential to distinguish spelling from pronunciation, *italic* type is used for the former, Roman for the latter.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (under a vowel): close quality. ◌ (under a vowel): open quality. — (over a vowel): long quantity. ˘ (over a vowel): short quantity. ◌ (under a letter): semivowel, not syllabic. ˈ (over a letter): stress. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ˈ (after a consonant): palatal pronunciation. [found. * (before a word): conjectural, not > (between words or letters): derivation, the <i>source</i> standing at the <i>open</i> end. + : followed by. |
|--|---|
-
- | | |
|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a: French <i>â</i> in <i>pâte</i>. ɶ: French <i>a</i> in <i>patte</i>. β: bilabial <i>v</i>, as in Spanish. c: see <i>k</i>. c': palatal <i>k</i>, as in English <i>key</i>. θ: English <i>th</i> in <i>this</i>. ɛ: French <i>é</i> in <i>thé</i>. ɛ̃: French <i>ê</i> in <i>fête</i>. g: English <i>g</i> in <i>go</i>. g': palatal <i>g</i>, as in English <i>gerse</i>. h: English <i>h</i> in <i>hat</i>. ï: French <i>i</i> in <i>si</i>. ʝ: English <i>j</i> in <i>pil</i>. k: English <i>k</i> in <i>maker</i>. k': see <i>c'</i>. l': palatal <i>l</i>, as in Italian <i>figlio</i>. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> n': palatal <i>n</i>, as in Italian <i>ogni</i>. ŋ: English <i>ng</i> in <i>sing</i>. o: German <i>ō</i>, as in <i>sohn</i>. ø: German <i>ø</i>, as in <i>sonne</i>. r': palatal <i>r</i>. š: English <i>sh</i> in <i>ship</i>. þ: English <i>th</i> in <i>thin</i>. u: German <i>ū</i>, as in <i>gut</i>. ʊ: German <i>ü</i>, as in <i>butter</i>. ü: French <i>u</i> in <i>pur</i>. w: English <i>w</i> in <i>woo</i>. x: German <i>ch</i> in <i>ach</i>. y: English <i>y</i> in <i>ye</i>. z: English <i>z</i> in <i>crazy</i>. ž: French <i>j</i> in <i>jour</i>. |
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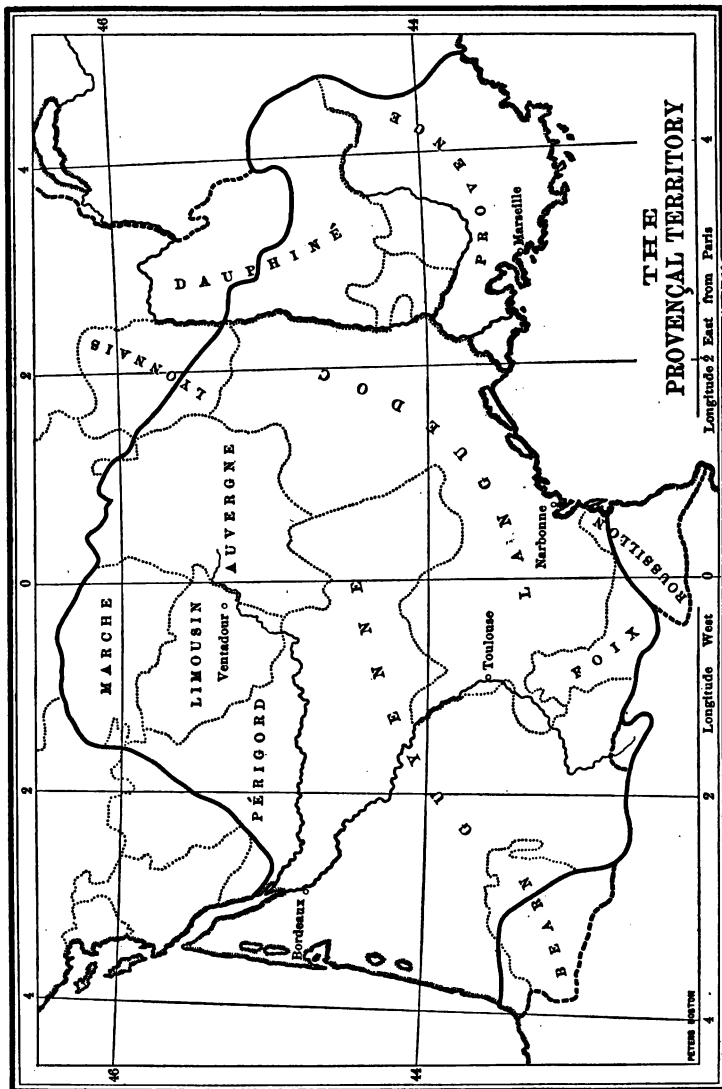


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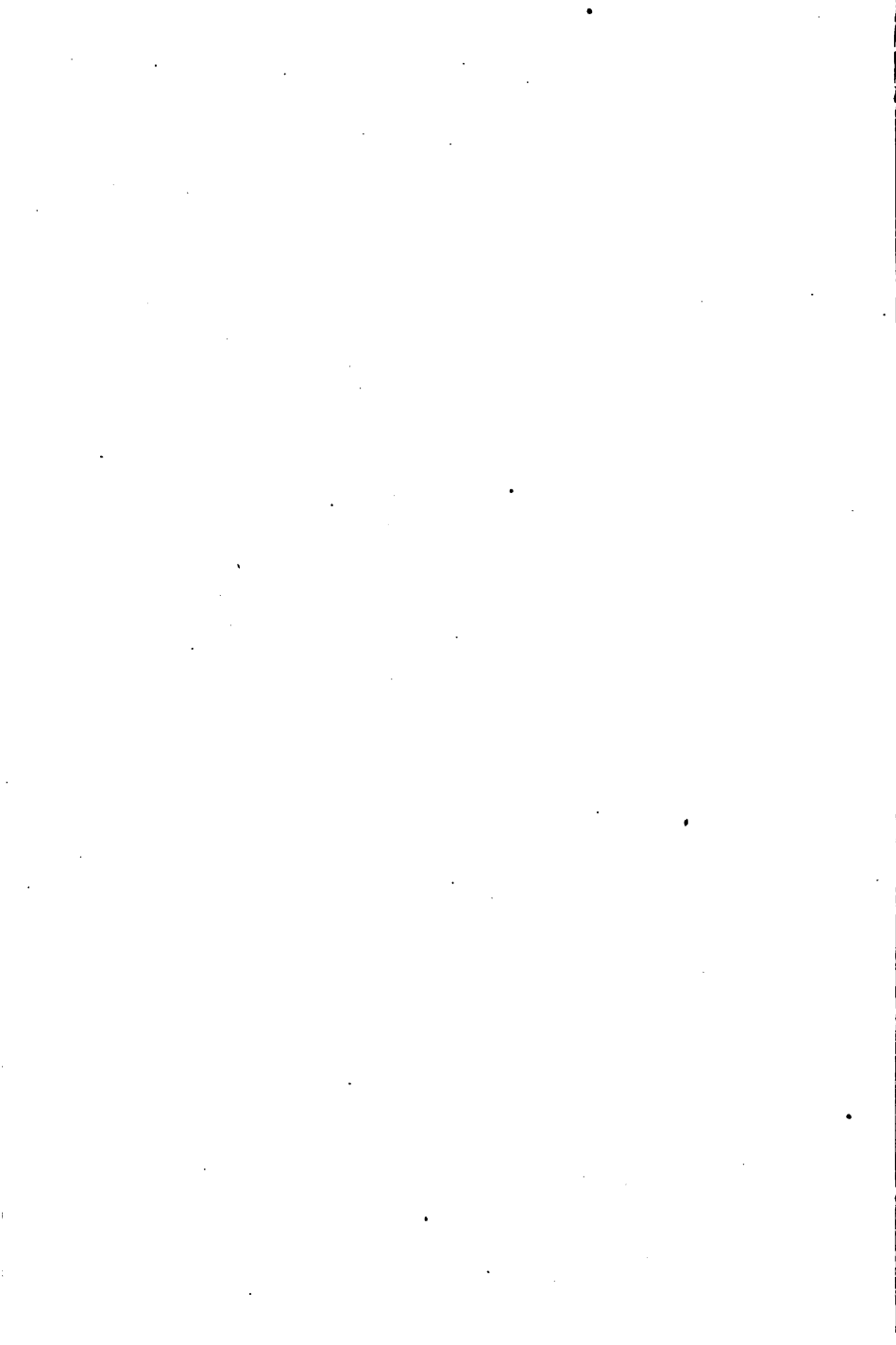
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AN OUTLINE OF THE PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY OF OLD PROVENÇAL.

I. INTRODUCTION.

1. The language here studied is, in the main, that used by the poets of Southern France during the 12th and 13th centuries. The few works that we have earlier than the 12th century must, of course, be utilized for such information as they afford concerning the process of linguistic change; and lacking words or forms must occasionally be sought in writings later than the 13th. Prose literature, moreover, should not be neglected, as it greatly enlarges our vocabulary and throws much light on local divergences. The modern dialects need be cited only to determine the geographical distribution of variations.

2. The extent of the Provençal territory is sufficiently indicated by the map on p. viii. The upper black line separates Provençal on the northwest and north from French, on the northeast from Franco-Provençal; on the east are the Gallo-Italic dialects. The lower black line divides Provençal on the southwest from Basque, on the south from Spanish, on the southeast from Catalan. The boundary line between French and Provençal must be determined somewhat arbitrarily, as there is no distinct natural division; the several linguistic characteristics of each idiom do not end at the

same point, and thus one language gradually shades into the other. The line shown on the map is based on the development of free accented Latin *a*, which remains *a* in Provençal, but is changed to *e* in French. The limits of other phonetic phenomena may be found in Suchier's maps at the back of Vol. I of Gröber's *Grundriss*. There may be seen also a large map showing the place of Provençal among the Romance languages. Consult, furthermore, P. Meyer in *Romania*, XXIV, 529.

3. The Spanish and Gallo-Italic frontiers are more clearly defined, and Basque is entirely distinct. Franco-Provençal and Catalan, on the other hand, are closely related to Provençal and not always easy to divide from it. Catalan, in fact, is often classed as a Provençal dialect; but it is sufficiently different to be studied separately.¹ Franco-Provençal, rated by some philologists as an independent language, has certain characteristics of Provençal and certain features of French, but more of the latter; in some respects it is at variance with both. The Gascon, or southwest, dialects of Provençal differ in many ways from any of the others and present not a few similarities to Spanish²; they will, however, be included in our study.

4. The Provençal domain embraces, then, the following old provinces: Provence, Languedoc, Foix, part of Béarn, Gascony, Guyenne, Limousin, most of Marche, Auvergne, the southwestern half of Lyonnais and the southern half of Dauphiné. The native speech in this region varies considerably from place to place, and the local dialects are, for convenience, roughly grouped under the names of the provinces; it should be remembered, however, that the political

¹ See B. Schädel in *Rom.*, XXXVII, 140.

² See E. Bourciez, *les Mots espagnols comparés aux mots gascons*.

and the linguistic boundaries rarely coincide. For some of the principal dialect differences, see §§ 8 and 10-13.

5. The language of the poets was sometimes called *lemosin*; and, in fact, the foundation of their literary idiom is the speech of the province of Limousin and the adjacent territory on the north, west, and southwest.¹ The supremacy of this dialect group is apparently due to the fact that it was generally used for composition earlier than any of the others: popular song, in all probability, had its home in the borderland of Marche²; religious literature in the vulgar tongue developed in the monasteries of this region; the artistic lyric was cultivated, we know, at the court of Ventadour, and it must have found favor at others. Furthermore, many of the leading troubadours belonged by birth or residence to the Limousin district.

6. The troubadours' verses, as we have them, seldom represent any one dialect in its purity. The poet himself was doubtless influenced both by literary tradition and by his particular local usage, as well as by considerations of rhyme and metre. Moreover, his work, before reaching us, passed through the hands of various intermediaries, who left upon it traces of their own pronunciation. It should be said, also, that the Limousin was not a single dialect, but a group of more or less divergent types of speech. For these reasons we must not expect to find in Provençal a uniform linguistic standard.

7. Neither was there a generally accepted system of orthography. When the vulgar tongue was first written, the

¹ See C. Chabaneau, *la Langue et la littérature du Limousin*, in the *Revue des langues romanes*, XXXV, 379.

² See G. Paris, *Origines de la poésie lyrique en France au moyen âge*.

Roman letters were used with approximately the same values that they had in Latin, as it was then pronounced. As the Provençal sounds changed, there was a conflict between the spellings first established and new notations based on contemporary speech. Furthermore, many Provençal vowels and consonants had no equivalents in Latin; for these we find a great variety of representations. The signs are very often ambiguous: for instance, *c* before *e* or *i* (as in *cen*, *cinc*) generally stands in the first texts for *ts*, in the more recent ones for *s*, the pronunciation having changed; *z* between vowels in early times usually means *dz* (*plazer*), but later *z* (*roza*); *i* between vowels (*maiór*) indicates either *y* or *dž* (English *j*), according to the dialect; a *g* may signify "hard" *g* (*gera*), *dž* ("soft" *g*: *ges*), or *tš* (English *ch*: *mieg*). It is probable that for a couple of centuries diphthongs were oftenest written as simple vowels.

8. Some features of the mediæval pronunciation are still obscure. The close *o* was transformed, either during or soon after the literary epoch, into *u* (the sound of French *ou*); hence, when we meet in a late text such a word as *flor*, we cannot be certain whether it is to be sounded *flor* or *flur*. We do not know at what time Latin *ū* in southern France took the sound *ü* (French *u*): some suppose that it was during or shortly before the literary period; if this be true, the letter *u* (as in *tu*, *mur*) may represent in some texts *u*, in others *ü*. In diphthongs and triphthongs whose first element is written *u* (*cuer*, *fuolha*, *nueu*, *buou*), this letter came to be pronounced in most of the dialects like French *u* in *huit*, while in others it retained the sound of French *ou* in *oui*; we cannot tell exactly when or where, in ancient times, this development occurred. In the diphthongs *ue*, *uo* (*lucc*, *fuoc*), opinions disagree as to which vowel originally bore the

stress; subsequent changes seem to indicate that in the 12th and 13th centuries the practice varied in the different dialects. Old Provençal must have had in some words a peculiar type of *r*, which was sufficiently palatal in its articulation to call for an *i*-glide before it (*esclairar*); we do not know precisely how it was formed; in most regions it probably was assimilated to the more usual *r* as early as the 12th century. The *š* and *ž* (palatal *s* and *z*) apparently ranged, in the several dialects, between the sounds of French *ch* and *j* on the one hand, and those of German *ch* (in *ich*) and *j* (in *ja*) on the other; the former types were largely assimilated, doubtless by the 13th century, to *s* and *z* (*pois, mais*), the latter were not (*poih, maió*).

9. The following table comprises the Old Provençal sounds with their usual spellings, the latter being arranged, as nearly as may be, in the order of their frequency. Diphthongs and triphthongs are included in the vowel list, compound consonants in the consonant table. For an explanation of the phonetic symbols, see p. vii. The variant pronunciations are discussed in § 8.

VOWELS.

SOUND.	SPELLINGS.	EXAMPLES.
ā	<i>a</i>	<i>pan</i>
ā	<i>a</i>	<i>car</i>
ai	<i>ai, ay</i>	<i>paire, cays</i>
au	<i>au</i>	<i>autre</i>
ē	<i>e</i>	<i>pēna</i>
ē	<i>e</i>	<i>cel</i>
ēi	<i>ei, ey</i>	<i>vēi, veyre</i>
ēi	<i>ei, ey</i>	<i>seis, leysser</i>
eu	<i>eu</i>	<i>beure</i>
eu	<i>eu</i>	<i>breu</i>
i	<i>i, y</i>	<i>amic, ydola</i>

SOUND.	SPELLINGS.	EXAMPLES.
ię	<i>ie, e</i>	<i>quier, velh</i>
ięi	<i>iei, icy, ei</i>	<i>ieis, lieys, leit</i>
ięu	<i>ieu, eu</i>	<i>mieu, deus</i>
iu	<i>iu</i>	<i>estiu</i>
o (or u)	<i>o, u</i>	<i>corre, sun</i>
o	<i>o</i>	<i>cors</i>
oi	<i>oi, oy</i>	<i>conoisser, oyre</i>
qi	<i>oi, oy</i>	<i>pois, poyssán</i>
ou	<i>ou</i>	<i>dous</i>
qu	<i>ou</i>	<i>mou</i>
u: see o, ü		
ü (or u?)	<i>u</i>	<i>mut</i>
ue, üę	<i>ue, o?</i>	<i>cuec, olh?</i>
uei, üęi	<i>uei, uey, oĩ?</i>	<i>cueissa, pueyssas, oit?</i>
ueu, üęu	<i>ueu, ou?</i>	<i>nueu, bou?</i>
ui	<i>ui, uy</i>	<i>cuit, duy</i>
uo, üo	<i>uo, o</i>	<i>gruoc, folha</i>
uoi, üoi	<i>noi, oi</i>	<i>puoi, noit</i>
uou, üou	<i>uou, ou</i>	<i>pluou, ou</i>

CONSONANTS.

SOUND.	SPELLINGS.	EXAMPLES.
b	<i>b, bb</i>	<i>bel, abbat</i>
d	<i>d</i>	<i>don</i>
dz	<i>z, c</i>	<i>plazer, dicén</i>
dž	<i>i, g, tg, gg, ti, gi, ih</i>	<i>ioc, gen, paratge, viagge, coratie, lotgiar, puihar</i>
đ	<i>d</i>	<i>veder</i>
f	<i>f, ph</i>	<i>fer, phizica</i>
g	<i>g, gu</i>	<i>gras, guan, guerra</i>
h (Gascon)	<i>h, f?</i>	<i>ham, fe?</i> ¹
k	<i>c, qu, k, g</i>	<i>cais, quar, quer, ki, longs</i> ²
l	<i>l, ll</i>	<i>leu, belleza</i>

¹ This h (coming from f) is peculiar to Gascon; the other dialects have no h.

² G, b, d are sounded k, p, t only at the end of a word or before a final s.

SOUND.	SPELLINGS.	EXAMPLES.
l'	<i>lh, ill, ilh, ll, l, il, yl,</i> <i>yll, li</i>	<i>fuelha, meillor, failha, vellar, viel,</i> <i>voil, fyl, fayllentia, filia</i>
m	<i>m, mm</i>	<i>mes, commanda</i>
n	<i>n, nn</i>	<i>nas, annat</i>
n'	<i>nh, gn, inh, ign, ing,</i> <i>innh, ingn, ngn,</i> <i>nn, n, in, ng, ynh,</i> <i>ni, ny, nyh</i>	<i>cenher, plagner, poinh, seignor, soing,</i> <i>poinnher, fraingner, ongnimen,</i> <i>vinna, franén, soin, sengor, poynh,</i> <i>lenia, senyoria, senyhor</i>
ŋ	<i>n</i>	<i>lonc</i>
p	<i>p, pp, b</i>	<i>prop, apparer, obs¹</i>
r	<i>r</i>	<i>rire</i>
r'	<i>r</i>	<i>cuer</i>
rr	<i>rr</i>	<i>terra²</i>
s	<i>s, ss, c, f, x</i>	<i>sap, fassa, cenat, ça, locx</i>
š	<i>ss, s, sh, h, hs</i>	<i>faissa, cais, pueysh, Foih, faihs</i>
t	<i>t, tt, d</i>	<i>tot, attenir, nud¹</i>
ts	<i>c, z, tz, f, gz, cz, ti</i>	<i>cel, faz, parlatz, ço, fagz, czo, fayllen-</i> <i>tia³</i>
tš	<i>ch, g, ich, ig, h, gz</i>	<i>chan, plag, ueich, faig, lah, gaugz⁴</i>
v	<i>u</i> (printed <i>v</i>)	<i>ven</i>
y	<i>i, y</i>	<i>gabia, preyar</i>
z	<i>s, z, f</i>	<i>pausa, roza, riçia (< ridēbat)</i>
ž	<i>s, z, i</i>	<i>raso, poizo, maio</i>

10. The Gascon group presents certain striking divergences from the other dialects: (1) it shows a *b* corresponding to Provençal *v*, as in *be* = *ve* < *vēnit*, *abetz* = *avetz* < *habētis*; (2) it substitutes *r* for *l* between vowels, as in *bera* = *bela* < *bēlla*; (3) it changes initial *f* to *h*, as in *he* = *fe* < *fīdem*. Other Gascon peculiarities are less ancient, less general, or less important.

¹ *G, b, d* are sounded *k, p, t* only at the end of a word or before a final *s*.

² *Rr* is generally distinguished from *r*, but there are a few examples of their confusion in rhyme.

³ *Ts* is usually written *c* at the beginning of a word, *z* or *tz* at the end.

⁴ *G* has the sound of *tš* only at the end of a word or combined with final *z*.

11. Some distinctions may be pointed out between the speech of the north and that of the south:—

(1) Latin *ca* and *ga*, either at the beginning of a word or after a consonant, became respectively *tša* and *dža* in the northern dialects¹, and remained unchanged in the southern: *canto* > *chan can*, *lōnga* > *lonia longa*.

(2) Latin *ct* and *gd* became *it* and *id* in most of the north and in the southwest¹, *tš* and *dž* in most of the south and in the northwest²: *factum* > *fait fach*, *frig(i)da* > *freida freia*. *Nct* became *int*, *nt*, *n'*, *ntš* in different regions: *sanctum* > *saint sant sanh sanch*. *Cs* (Latin *x*) had various local developments—is, *itš*, *tš*—somewhat similar to those of *ct*: *exīre* > *eissir eichir ichir*.

(3) Latin *d* between vowels disappeared in some spots in the north and northeast¹, and became *z* nearly everywhere else: *audīre* > *auir auzir*.

(4) Latin *ll* became *l'* in some parts of the south², and usually *l* in other regions: *bēlla* > *belha bela*.

(5) Provençal final *ns* remains in the southeast and east, and is elsewhere generally reduced to *s*: *bōnus* > *bons bos*. Provençal final *n* also falls in a large region, but its history is more intricate; the poets use indifferently forms with and without *n*: *bēne* > *ben be*.

12. Several Latin consonants, when combined with a following *e* or *i*, give results that are widely different in various localities, but the geographical distribution of the respective forms is complicated and not always clear: *pōdium* > *puech poi*; *basiare* > *baisar basar baiiar baiar*; *bassiare* > *baissar baichar bachar*; *potiōnem* > *poizon pozon poio*. The same thing

¹ Cf. French.

² Cf. Spanish.

may be said of intervocalic *y* (Latin *j*): *major* > *mager maier*. Also of intervocalic *c*, *sc*, *g*, *ng*, followed by *e* or *i*: *placēre* > *plazer plaizer plager*, *nascere* > *naisser nasser naicher nacher*, *lēgem* > *lei leg*, *ūngere* > *onher onger*.

13. In the development of unstressed vowels there are very numerous local variations, which will be discussed later. Even among accented vowels there are some divergences:—

(1) Provençal *a*, *e*, *o* before nasals become *a*, *e*, *o* in some dialects, especially in those belonging to or bordering on the Limousin group: *canem* > *cān cān*, *vēnit* > *vēn vēn*, *bōnum* > *bōn bōn*. The poets nearly always use the forms with close vowels.

(2) The breaking of *e*, *o*, under certain conditions, into diphthongs is not common to the whole territory, and the resulting forms show local differences: *mēum* > *mēu miēu*, *fōcum* > *fōc fuoc fuēc füc*. Breaking is least common in the southwest.

II. PHONOLOGY.

14. Inasmuch as Provençal, like the other Romance languages, grew out of the Latin commonly spoken under the Roman Empire, we must take this latter language as our starting-point. The transformation was so gradual and continuous that we cannot assign any date at which speech ceases to be Latin and begins to be Provençal; since, however, the various Latin dialects—destined to become later the various Romance languages—began to diverge widely in the 6th and 7th centuries, we may, for the sake of convenience, say that the Latin period ends at about this time. Before this, certain changes (which affected all the Romance tongues) had occurred in the popular language, differentiating it considerably from the classic Latin of the Augustan writers. Although the most important of these alterations have to do with inflections rather than with pronunciation, the sound-changes in Vulgar Latin are by no means insignificant.

15. It is essential at the outset to distinguish "popular" from "learned" words. The former, having always been a part of the spoken vocabulary, have been subject to the operation of all the phonetic laws that have governed the development of the language. The latter class, consisting of words borrowed by clerks, at various periods, from Latin books and from the Latin of the Church, is naturally exempt from sound-changes that occurred in the vulgar tongue before

the time of their adoption. The form of learned words depends, in the first place, on the clerical pronunciation of Latin at the date of their borrowing; then, if they came into general use, their form was subject to the influence of any phonetic laws that were subsequently in force. The fate of borrowed terms differs, therefore, according to the time of their introduction and the degree of popularity which they afterwards attained.

1. ACCENT.

16. The place of the *primary* accent, which in Classic Latin was determined by quantity, remained unchanged in Vulgar Latin even after quantitative distinctions were lost. A short vowel before a mute followed by a liquid may, in Classic Latin, be stressed or unstressed; in Vulgar Latin it is usually stressed: *cathédra*, *tenébræ*.¹

There are some exceptions to the rule of the persistence of the accent in Vulgar Latin:—

1. An accented *e* or *i* immediately followed by the vowel of the penult transfers the stress to this latter vowel, and is itself changed to *y*: *fillōlus* > *filyōlus*, *mullērem* > *mulyère*. This shift is perhaps due to a tendency to stress the more sonorous of two contiguous vowels.

2. An accented *u* immediately followed by the vowel of the penult transfers the stress to the preceding syllable, and is itself changed to *w*: *habuērunt* > *ābwerunt*, *tenuēram* > *tēnwera*. This shift cannot be explained on the same principle as the foregoing one; it is perhaps due in every case to analogy—*habuit*, *tenui*, for instance, being responsible for the change in *habuērunt*, *tenuēram*.

3. Verbs compounded with a prefix, if their constituent parts were fully recognized, were usually replaced in Vulgar Latin by a formation in which the vowel and the accent of the simple verb were preserved: *dēfīcit* > *disfācit*, *reddīdi* > *reddēdi*, *renōgo* > *renēgo*, *requirit* > *requārit*. In

¹ For some exceptions see *Rom.*, XXXII, 591; P. Marchot, *Phon.*, p. 9.

reclpit > *reclpit* the accent but not the vowel was restored, speakers having ceased to associate this verb with *capio*. In *cōlligo*, *érigo*, *éxco*, *ínflo* the composite nature of the word was apparently not recognized.

4. The adverbs *illác*, *illíc* accented their last syllable, by the analogy of *hāc*, *hīc*.

17. In Provençal the primary accent falls on the same syllable as in Vulgar Latin: *bonitātem* > V. L. *bonitāte* > Pr. *bontāt*, *compūtum* > V. L. *cōmputu* > Pr. *cōnte*; *cathēdra* > V. L. *catēdra* > Pr. *cadēira*; *filiōlus* > V. L. *filjōlus* > Pr. *filhōls*, *tenuēram* > V. L. *tēnwera* > Pr. *tēngra*, *requirit* > V. L. *requærit* > Pr. *requér*, *illac* > V. L. *illac* > Pr. *lai*.

1. Some learned words have an irregular accentuation, apparently due to a mispronunciation of the Latin: *cāndidum* > *quandī*, *grammātica* > *gramatica*, *lāchrīma* > *lagrim*, *spīritum* > *esprīt* (perhaps from the formula *spīritui sancto*). Others were adopted with the correct stress, but shifted it later: *fābrīca* > *fābrega* > *fabrēga* (and *fārga*), *fēmīna* > *fēmēna* > *fēmēna* (and *fēmna*), *lāchrīma* > *lāgrema* > *lagrēma*, *sēmīnat* > *sēmēna* > *sēmēna* (and *sēmna*), *vīrgīnem* > *vērgēna* > *vergēna* (and *vērgē*).

2. *Dīmērcres* < *dīe Mercūrī* (perhaps through **dīe Mercōris*) has evidently been influenced by *divénres* < *dīe Vēnēris*.

3. Some irregularities due to inflection will be discussed under Morphology.

18. The *secondary* accent, in Vulgar Latin, seems not to have followed the Classic Latin quantitative rule, but to have fallen regularly on the second syllable from the primary stress: *cōgītō*, *cupīditātem*. If this secondary accent followed the tonic, its vowel probably developed as an unstressed post-tonic vowel; if it preceded, its vowel was apparently treated as a stressed vowel. This treatment was doubtless continued in Provençal until the intertonic vowel dropped out: *cōgītō cōgītānt* > *cug cúian* (cf. *cānto cāntant* > *can cāntan*), **comīnitiāre* > *comén'tiāre* > *coménzār* > *comensār*. As may be seen from this last example, after the fall of the intertonic

vowel, the secondary stress, being brought next to the primary, disappeared, and its vowel was henceforth unaccented. Cf. § 45, 1.

19. Short, unemphatic words had no accent in Vulgar Latin, and were attached as particles to the beginning or the end of another word: *te videt, áma me*. Such words, if they were not monosyllabic, tended to become so; a dissyllabic proclitic beginning with a vowel regularly, in Vulgar Latin, lost its first syllable: *illum video* > V. L. *lu véyo* > Pr. *lo vei*. A word which was used sometimes independently, sometimes as a particle, naturally developed double forms.

2. VOWELS.

QUANTITY.

20. Latin had the following vowels, which might be long or short: a, e, i, o, u. The diphthongs, æ, œ, au, eu, ui, were always long: æ and œ, however, were simplified into monophthongs, mainly in the Republican epoch, æ being sounded ē, œ probably ē; au retained (save in some popular dialects) its old pronunciation; eu did not occur in any word that survived; ui, in *cui, illui*, in Vulgar Latin, was accented *úi* (as in *fui*). The simple vowels, except a, were, doubtless from early times, slightly different in quality according to their quantity, the long vowels being sounded close, the short open: ē, ĭ, ō, ū; ĕ, ĭ, ĕ, ŭ.

21. Between the 1st and the 7th century of our era, the Classic Latin quantity died out: it had apparently disappeared from unstressed vowels as early as the 4th century, from stressed by the 6th. It left its traces, however, as we have seen, upon accentuation (§ 16), and also upon vowel

quality, the originally long and short remaining differentiated in sound, if they were accented. Of the unaccented vowels, only *i* shows sure signs of such a differentiation, and even for *i* the distinction is evident only in a final syllable: *vēnī vēnīt* > *venī venīt*.

ACCENTED VOWELS.

22. The vowels of Vulgar Latin are *a*, *e*, *ē*, *i*, *ī*, *o*, *ō*, *u*, *ū*, with the diphthongs *áu* and *úi*; the old *æ* and *œ* had become identical in sound with *e* and *ē*. As early as the 3d century of our era, *i* was changed, in nearly all the Empire, to *e*, and thus became identical with the vowel coming from original *ē*. A little later, perhaps, *u*, in the greater part of the Empire, became *o*, thus coinciding with the vowel that was originally *ō*. Ypsilon, in words taken from the Greek, was identified, in early borrowings, with Latin *u*; in later ones, with Latin *i*: *βύρσα* > Pr. *borsa*, *γῦρος* > Pr. *girs*. Omicron, which apparently had the close sound in Greek, generally (but not always) retained it in recently borrowed words in Vulgar Latin: *τόρνος* > *tornus* (cf. Pr. *torn*), but *κόλαφος* > *cōlāphus* = *colapus* or *colapus* (cf. Pr. *colp*).

The development of the Vulgar Latin vowels in Provençal will now be examined in detail:—

a

23. Cl. L. *ā*, *ǣ* > V. L. *a* > Pr. *a*: *ārbōrem* > *arbre*, *grātum* > *grat*, *māre* > *mar*.

1. The ending *-arius* shows an irregular development in French and Provençal, the Provençal forms being mainly such as would come from *-ērius*; as in *parlier*, *parleira*. In the earliest stage we find apparently *-er'* and *-er'a*; then *-er'* and *-eir'a*; next *-er*, *-ier* and *-eira*, *-ieira*; finally, with a reciprocal influence of the two genders, *-er*, *-ier*, *-eir*, and *-era*, *-iera*, *-eira*, *-ieira*: *caballarium* > *c(h)avaler* *-ier*, *-eir*, **man(u)aria*

> *manera -iera -eira -ieira*. The peculiar treatment of this suffix has not been satisfactorily explained. See E. R. Zimmermann, *Die Geschichte des lateinischen Suffixes -arius in den romanischen Sprachen*, 1895; E. Staaff, *Le suffixe -arius dans les langues romanes*, Upsala, 1896, reviewed by Marchot in *Zs.*, XXI, 296, by Körting in *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache*, XXII, 55; Meyer-Lübke, *Gram.*, I, 222, § 237; Zimmermann in *Zs.*, XXVI, 591; Thomas in *Rom.*, XXXI, 481 and in *Bau- steine zur romanischen Philologie*, 641. The likeliest theory is that of Thomas: that *-arius* was associated with the Germanic ending *-ari* and participated in the *umlaut* which affected the latter; cf. *Phon.*, pp. 34-36.

2. In Gascony and Languedoc *ei* is used for *ai* < *habeo*. The *ei* perhaps developed first as a future ending (*amar -ei*) by analogy of the preterit ending *-ei* (*amei*): see Morphology, §§ 152, 1, 162, (4), 175, (4), where this latter ending is discussed also. For a different explanation, see Meyer-Lübke, *Gram.*, I, 222, § 237.

3. A few apparent irregularities are to be traced to the vocabulary of Vulgar Latin. For instance, Pr. *sereisa* represents, not Cl. L. *cērāsus*, but V. L. *cērēsā*: see Meyer-Lübke, *Einf.*, § 103. *Uebre* is from **ūpērit*, or *apērit* modified by **cōpērit* = *cōperit*. *Voig* is from **vōcītum* = *vacuum*: *Einf.*, § 114.

4. Such forms as *fontaina* = *fontana* < *fontāna*, etc., and *tres* = *tras* < *trans*, etc., are French or belong to the borderland between French and Provençal.

24. In some dialects, particularly in Rouergue, Limousin, Auvergne, and Dauphiné, *a* became *ā* before a nasal, and at the end of a monosyllable or an oxytone: *canem* > *can*, *grandem* > *grant*, *cadit* > *ca*, *stat* > *estā*.

1. The conditions differ somewhat in the various dialects, according as the nasal consonant falls or remains, and is followed by another consonant or not. In Limousin the sound is *ā* before an *n* that cannot fall: see § 11, (5). In Rouergue and in Dauphiné, *ā* appears before all nasals. The poets generally follow the Limousin usage. See F. Pfützner, *Ueber die Aussprache des provenzalischen A*, Halle, 1884.

e

25. Cl. L. *ē*, *ī*, *œ* > V. L. *e* > Pr. *e*: *habēre* > *aver*, *mē* > *mē*,

mensem > *mes*, *plēnum* > *plen*, *rēgem* > *rei*, *vēndēre* > *vendre*; *inter* > *entre*, *fīdem* > *fē*, *malitia* > *maleza*, *minus* > *mens*, *mittere* > *metre*, *siccum* > *sec*, *virīdem* > *vert*; *pœna* > *pena*.

1. Some words have *ę* instead of *ē*:—

(a) The ending *-ētis* in the present indicative becomes *-etz* through the analogy of *etz* < *ēstis*.

(b) *Camel* (also *ę*), *cândela* (also *ę*), *cruzęl*, *fizęl* (also *ę*), *maissęla* have *ę* through the analogy of the suffix *-ęl* < *-ellus*. In *camel* the substitution probably goes back to Vulgar Latin.

(c) Many learned words, including proper names, have *ę* for *ē*: *decretę*, *Elizabetę*, *Moysesę*, *panteraę*, *requięs*, *secretę* (*ę*), *sencęr*.

(d) *Esper* for *esperę* < *spēro*, *quet* for *quetę* < *qu(i)ētum* are perhaps bad rhymes. Bartolomeo Zorzi, a Venetian, rhymes *-ęs* with *-ęs*; in Catalan these two endings were not distinguished.

(e) Individual cases: *adęs*, 'at once,' probably from *ad id ipsum*, seems to have been affected by *pręs* and *apres* < *ad pręssum*; *mostierę* < *monastērium* shows the influence of *ministērium*; *nęr nięr* (also *nęr negre*) < *nigrum* perhaps shows the influence of *entęr entięr* and the numerous adjectives in *-ęr -ięr*; *nęu nięu nęy* < *nivem* has been attracted by *bręu gręu*, *lęu*; *senęstre* (cf. late Lat. *sinexter*) is evidently influenced by *dęstre*.

2. Many words have *i* instead of *ę*:—

(a) *Berbitz* = *vervēcem*, *camis* = *camisia*, come from alternative V. L. forms, *berbīcem*, **camisia*. *Planissa* (also *-eza*), *sebisša*, etc., probably show *-icia* for *-itia*. For *dit* = *digtum* see § 65, Y, 1.

(b) In many learned words Latin *i* is represented by *i* in Provençal: *albir*, *martire*, *edifici*, *iuzizi*, *servizi*, *vici*, etc.; *iusticia*, *leticia*, *tristicia*, etc. *Aurilha* (also *ę*) < *auricula*, *cilh*, (also *cieilh*, *sobreselhs*) < *cllium*, *issilh* < *extlium*, *familha* < *famīllia*, *maistre* (also *maęstre maięstre*) < *magistrum*, *meravilha* (also *ę*) < *mirabilia*, *perilh* < *periculum*, etc., are probably learned forms. *Māistre* and *mestre* are French.

(c) *Ciri* (*cere*) = *cereum*, *iure* (cf. *ebriac*) = *ębrium* (or **ębrium*), *marquis* (*ę*), *merci* (*ę*), *pals* (*ę*) = **pagēsem*, *plazir* (*ę*), *pris* (*ę*), etc., are French.¹ For a discussion of *iure* and a different explanation of *ciri*, see P. Savj-Lopez, *Dell' "Umlaut" provençale*, 1902, p. 4.

(d) *Ins* (also *entz*) < *intus*, *dins* (also *dens*) < *de intus*, *dintre* (cf. *en*,

¹ Cf. R. Karch, *Die nordfranzösischen Elemente im Altprovenzalischen*, 1901.

entre) < *de inter* have not been satisfactorily explained. Regular forms with *ē* are found in Béarn, Gascony, Dauphiné, and the Alps.

(c) Individual cases: *tapit* < *ταπήτιον* shows the modern pronunciation of Greek *η*; *verin* = *venēnum* is an example of substitution of suffix.

3. *Arnei, fei, mei* = *me*, *palafrei, perquci, sei* = *se* are French or Poitevin forms; they are common in William of Poitiers. *Mercey, rey* = *re*, used by Marcabru, seem to be due either to an imitation of such forms as the preceding or to the analogy of *crei cre* < *crēdo*. Cf. § 65, N, 3.

4. *Contránher* seems to be a fusion of *constringere* and *contrahere*; *vendanha* < *vindēmia* shows French influence.

26. An *ē* in hiatus became *i*: *ligat* > *lia*, *vīa* > *via*.

27. When there was in the next syllable a final *i*, V. L. *ē* was changed in Provençal to *i*: *ecc'illi* > *cilh*, *ecc'isti* > *cist*, *fēcī* > *fis*, **prēsī* > *pris*, **vēnuī* > *vinc*, *vīgīntī* **vīntī* > *vint*.

1. In the nominative plural of masculine nouns and adjectives this change was regularly prevented by the analogy of the singular and the accusative plural: *mīssī* > *mes*, *plēnī* > *plen*. We find, however, *cabil* < *capilli*.

2. *Dec* for **dic* < *dēbuī* seems to have been attracted by the *dec* < *dēbuit* of the third person. *Venguest* for *venguist* < **venūstī* is due both to the influence of the plural forms *venguem*, *venguets* and to the analogy of the weak preterits, such as *cantest*, *vendest*.

ē

28. Cl. L. *ě, æ* > V. L. *ē* > Pr. *ē*: *infērum* > *enfērn*, *fēr-rum* > *fēr*, *pēdem* > *pē*; *cælum* > *çel*, *quærit* > *quer*.

1. Such forms as *glisia*, *lire*, *pire*, *pis*, *profit* are French. *Profich* may be a cross between *profieg* and *profit*, or it may be due to the analogy of *dich*.

2. *Cossint*, *mint*, *sint*, used by Arnaut Daniel, are perhaps faulty rhymes.

3. *Auzil* < *avicelli*, in the *Boeci*, may be due to the analogy of such plural forms as *cabil* < *capilli*, *il* < *illi*, etc. *Briu*, sometimes used for *breu* < *brēvem*, is evidently connected with *abrivar*, 'hasten,' the origin of

which is uncertain. *Elig* shows the influence either of *eligir* (beside *elegir*) or of *dig*. *Ginh* = *genh* < *ingēnium* evidently follows *ginhos* < *ingeniōsus* and its derivatives. *Isme* (*esme*) is a post-verbal noun from **ismar* (cf. *axismamen*), a dialect form of *esmar* < *astimare*. *Quis* < **quasi*, *tinc* < *tēnui* are due to the analogy of *pris* < **prēsī*, *vinc* < **vēnui*.

4. Beside *neula* < *nēbula*, we find *nebla*, *neble*, presumably from the same source, and also *nible*, *niōl*, *niōla*, *niūl*, *niūla*, *nivōl*. According to Nigra, *Archivio glottologico italiano*, XV, 494, *nūbes* > *nūbtlus* > **nūbūlus* (and **nūbūlus*?), whence might be derived **nūlūlus* **niūlūlus*, which would account for *niōl*-a, *niūl*-a, and perhaps for a **nivōl* > *nivōl*. *Nible* might be regarded as a cross between *neble* and *niul*. Cf. § 38, 3.

5. In *es* < *ēst* the *ē* probably comes from such combinations as *mē's*, *quē's*, understood as *m'ēs*, *qu'ēs*. *Espelh* < *spēculum* shows the influence of *cosselh*, *solēlh*. *Estēla* presupposes a Latin **stēla* or **stēlla* for *stēlla*: cf. the Fr. and It.

6. *Plais*, 'hedge' seems to be a cross between *plēxus* and *paxillus*, 'fence.' *Vianda* (< *vivenda*?) is probably French.

7. *Volon* < *volentem* shows the influence of the ending -*ūndus*:

8. *Greuga* < *con-gregar* has been influenced by *greu* < **grēvem* = *gravem* influenced by *lēvem*. Cf. *grey* < *grēgem*.

29. Before a nasal, in most of the dialects of Limousin, Languedoc, and Gascony, *ē* became *ē*: *bēne* > *bēn*, *dicēntem* > *dizen*, *tēmpus* > *tēms*, *tēnet* > *tēn*, *vēniam* > *venha*, *vēntum* > *vent*.

30. Early in the history of Provençal, before *u*, *i*, or one of the palatal consonants *l'*, *r'*, *s'*, *z'*, *y*, *tš*, *dž*, an *ē* broke into *ie*, except in a few dialects of the west and north: *dēus* > *diēus*, *mēum* > *miēu*; *amāvi* > **amai* > *amei* *amiei*,¹ **fēria* > *fiēira*, **ec(c)lēsia*? (Cf. *Zs.*, XXV, 344) > *glieiza*, *lēctum* > *lieit*, *pējus* > *pieis*; *vētūlum* *vēclum* > *vielh*, *ministērium* > *mestier*, **ec(c)lēsia*? > *glieiza*, *mēdia* > *mieia*, *lēctum* > *lieg*. There seems to be also, at least in some dialects, a tendency to break the *ē* before a *g* or a *k*: *lēgunt* > *liegon*; **sēquit* > *sēc*

¹ See § 175, (4).

sięc, subjunctive sięgas (sega), but infinitive seęre < **sęquere*.¹

The breaking was probably due to a premature lifting of the tongue under the influence of a following high vowel or a palatal (or velar) consonant.² Before u it occurred everywhere except in the extreme west; before palatals the ę apparently remained intact both in the extreme west and in Quercy, Rouergue, Auvergne, and Dauphiné. At first, no doubt, the diphthong was less marked than it became in the 12th and 13th centuries. It is not indicated in our oldest text, the *Boeci* (*breu, deu, eu, mei, meler, vel*)³, and it frequently remains unexpressed even in the writings of the literary period.

It is to be noted that ę does not break before u < l nor before i < ě: *bėllus* > bėls > bęus, *pėtra* > **pęđra* > pęira, *Pėtrum* > **Pęđre* > Peire, *rėtro* > **ręđre* > reire⁴. The breaking must, therefore, have occurred before these developments of l and ě, both of which apparently antedate the *Boeci*: cf. *euz* = *els*, v. 139; *eu* = *el*, v. 155; *Teiric* < **Teđric* < *Theodoricum*, v. 44, etc. On the other hand, there is no diphthong before ts, dz, s, z coming from Latin c', cy, pty, tty, ty: *dėcem* > detz, *pėttia* (or *pėcia*) > pessa, *nėptia* > nessa, **prėtiat* > preza, *prėtium* > pretz⁵. The breaking, therefore, took

¹ There is no diphthong in the preterit ending -ęc: *cazęc*, etc.

² This view is a modification of the theory developed by C. Voretzsch in his admirable treatise, *Zur Geschichte der Diphthongierung im Altprovenzalischen*, Halle, 1900. That ę is not affected by an i in the following syllable is shown by such words as *emper*i, *evangeli*, *salteri*, which must have been adopted fairly early. The same thing is true of ę: *apostoli*, *ęli*, etc.

³ The diphthong of ę occurs, however, in this text, v. 203, in *uęl* < *ęculi*.

⁴ *Derrier* (*derer*, *dereer*), beside *dereire*, is manifestly due to the influence of *primier*. To the influence of the same ending -ier, as in *carr(i)eira*, is to be ascribed the diphthong in *cad(i)eira* < *cathędra*.

⁵ The things just said of ę are true of ę: there is no breaking before u < l (*tęut* = *tęlt*) nor before ts, dz, s, z (*nęcet* > *nętz*, **nęptias* > *nęssas*).

place after these consonants had ceased to be palatal. We may ascribe it with some confidence to the period between the seventh and tenth centuries.

1. A number of cases of *iē* before *r* are doubtless to be explained by analogy. *Hēri* > *ēr*; *autre + er* > *autrēr*, which, through the influence of adjectives in *-ēr -iēr*, became *autriēr*: hence the form *iēr*. *Fērio, mēreo* > *fiēr, miēr*; hence, by analogy, the first person forms *profiēr, quīēr*, then the third person forms *fiēr, miēr, profiēr, quīēr, siēr* (but *sērvon, sērva*), and the subjunctives *ofiēira, sofiē(i)ra*.

2. *Iēsc* (= *ēxco*), *iēscōn*, *iēscā* receive their diphthong either from earlier forms with *s'* or from *iēis* < *ēxit*.

i

31. Cl. L. *i* > V. L. *i*: *amīcum* > *amīc*, *finem* > *fīn*, *trīstem* > *trīst*.

1. *Frēg*, *frēit* are from V. L. **frīgđum* = *frīgđum*, the *i* being perhaps due to the analogy of *rīgđum*.

32. In the 13th century or earlier the group *iu*, in most dialects, became *ieu*: *captivum* > *caitiu* *caitieu*, *æstivum* > *estiu* *esticu*, *revivēre* > *reviure* *revieure*, *sī vōs* > *sius sieus*.

o

33. Cl. L. *ō, ū* > V. L. *o* > Pr. *o*, which developed into *u* probably during the literary period: *dolōrem* > *dolor*, *spōnsa* > *esposa*, *flōrem* > *flor*; *būcca* > *boça*, *gūla* > *gola*.

1. An irregular *o*, which is found in some words, goes back to Vulgar Latin: *cōbra* = *re-cūperat*, *cōsta* (also *o*) = *cōstat*, *nōra* = *nūra*, *ou* = *ovum*, *plōia* = *plūvia*, *redōbla* = **redūplat*, *sōbra* = *sūperat*, *suefre* = *sūffero*. V. L. **cūperat* may be regarded as a fusion of *cūperat* and **cūperit* (§ 40, 1; cf. *Rom.* XXXI, 9); **cōstat* is unexplained; **nūra* shows the influence of *sōror* and *sōcra*; the *o* of **ovum* has been explained as due to differentiation from the following *v*; **plōia* is to be connected with the popular *plōvère* (cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Einf.*, § 142); **sūperat* follows the analogy of **cūperat*; **sūffero* evidently follows *offero*. *Redōbla* (also *o*)

is not accounted for. If *trōba* has anything to do with *tūrbat*, it was perhaps influenced by *prōbat* (cf. *Zs.*, XXVIII, 50). *Engoissa* < V. L. **angōstia* = *angōstia*. See A. Thomas, *Nouveaux essais de philologie française*, 1904, 339.

2. Some words have *ü*: *iūs* (also *iōs*) < *deōrsūm* shows the influence of *sūs* < *sūrsum*; *lūr* (usually *lōr*) < *illōrum* (cf. *lur* in the dialects of Navarre and Aragon) comes through an **illūrūm* due to the analogy of *illūi* = *illi*; *melhūra* (o), *peiūra* (o) perhaps follow *aūra* < **a(u)gūrat*; *rancūra* is a mixture of *rancōrem* and *cūra*; *üis* is from V. L. *üstium* = *ōstium* (cf. *Zs.*, XXV, 355); *üpa* < *ūpūpa* is due to onomatopœa.

3. The adverbs *ar*, *ara*, *er*, *era*, *eras*, meaning 'now,' are hardly to be connected with *hōra*. Meyer-Lübke takes *era*, etc., from a Latin **era* corresponding to Greek *ἀρα*; *ara*, *ar* may come directly from *ἀρα*, *ἀρ*: cf. *Gr.*, III, 552, note.

4. *Tonleu*, 'tariff,' from *τελώνιον*, shows double metathesis. For *adoutz*, 'fount,' see A. Thomas, *Essais de philologie française*, 1897, 205.

34. Before *tš*, *dž* (and *it*, *id*), before *n'*, and before final *i*, an *o* becomes *ü* in various dialects: *cōgītāt* > *cüia cüida*, **stūdiāt* > *estüia*, *fūgit* > *füg*, *refūgium* > *refüg*; *jūngēre* > *iünher*, *ūngēre* > *ünher*, *pūgnum* > *pünh*; *dūi* > *düi*, *sūm* > *sō* + *i* > *süi*. The *ü* before *tš*, *dž* apparently occurs everywhere except in Dauphiné; before *n'* it is to be found in nearly all the dialects of the north and west; before final *i* it seems to be limited to Bordeaux, Auvergne, and a part of Languedoc.

o

35. Cl. L. *ō* > V. L. *o* > Pr. *o*: *cōr* > *cōr*, *cōrpus* > *cōrs*, *mōrtem* > *mōrt*, *ōpera* > *obra*, *rōta* > *rōda*.

1. For *demōra* (also *o*) < **demōrat*, see Meyer-Lübke, *Gram.*, I, 204, § 220. For *proa* (also *proa*, *prueva*) < *prōbat*, see *Rom.*, XXXI, 10, footnote 3.

36. Before a nasal, in most of the dialects of Limousin, Languedoc, and Gascony, *o* became *o*: *bōnum* > *bōn*, *fōntem*

> font, *põntem* > pont. Cf. E. Levy in *Mélanges de philologie romane dédiés à Carl Wahlund*, 1896, p. 207.

1. If the nasal was *n'*, the vowel remained open in most or all of these dialects: *cõgnõta* > *coinda cuenda cuenhda*, *lõnge* > *lonh luenh*, *sõmniũm* > *sonh suenh*.

37. Early in the history of Provençal, before *u*, a labial consonant, a *g* or a *k*, an *i*, or one of the palatal consonants *l'*, *n'*, *r'*, *s'*, *z'*, *y*, *tš*, *dž*, an *o* broke, in most dialects, into a diphthong which developed into *ue*, *üo*, *üe*, or *ü*¹: *bõvem* > *bou büou büeu*, **õvum* > *ou üou üeu*, *nõvus* > *nos nüous nüeus*; **cõpero* > *cõbri cüebre*², *nõva* > *nova nüeva*, *õpus* > *ops üops*, *prõbat* > *proa prüeva*, **trõpo?* > *trõp trüeb*; *cõquus* > *cõcs cüocs cüex*, *fõcum* > *foc füoc füec füc*, *crõcus* > *grõcs grüocs grüecs*, *jõcum* > *ioc iüoc iüec iüc*, *lõcus* > *locs lüocs lüecs*, *lõcat* > *lüoga*, *põtui* > *püec*, *sõc(ẽ)rum* > (*sozer*) *sõgre süegre* (fem. *süegra*); **ingrõssiat* > *engrõissa engrüeissa*, **angõstia* > *engõissa engüeissa*, *nõctem* > *noit nüoit nüeit*, *õcto* > *oit üeit*, *põstea* > *poissas püeissas*, *prõximus* > *proymes prüeymes*; *fõlia* > *fõlha füolha füelha fülha*, *õculus õclus* > *õlhs üolhs üelhs jülhs*, *lõnge* > *lonh lüenh*, *sõmniũm* > *sonh süenh*, *cõrium* > *cõr cüer*, *põstea* > *pües*, *prõximum* > *proşme prüesme*, **plõia* > *plõia plüeia plüia*, **inõdiat* > *enõia enüeia enüia*, **põdiat* > *poia püeia püia*, *nõctem* > *nüoch nüech nü*, *õcto* > *üeg*.

The breaking was probably due to a premature lifting of the tongue under the influence of a following high vowel or a palatal or velar consonant, or to a premature partial closure

¹ The conditions are not quite the same as for *e*: an *ẽ* does not break before a labial (*neps*) nor before *n'* (*venha*). Breaking before *g* and *k* seems more general for *o* than for *e*.

² So the second person forms *cuebres*, *uebrs*, *uefres*, and the third person forms *cuebre*, *uebre*, *uefre*; cf. *cõbron*, *õbri*, etc.

of the lips in anticipation of a following labial. Before *i* or a palatal, the diphthong was at the start presumably *üo*; before *u* or a labial or velar consonant, *uo*: from these two types, the first of which influenced the second, came the later developments. *Ü* is a reduction of *üo* or *üe*; it apparently does not occur before *u*.

The dialect conditions are mixed, the development in each region depending somewhat on the following sound. In the southwest, *o* and *ue* seem to prevail; in the northwest, *ü*; in the west, in Limousin, and in Auvergne, *üe*; in Languedoc, *üo*; in the east and south, *üe*, *üo*, *o*.

The date of breaking is discussed in § 30.

1. In some words where a diphthong would be expected, none is found, although it may have existed: *mou* < *mōvet*, *noü* < *nōvem*, *plou* < **plōvit*; *trōp* < **trōp*; *brocs* < **brōccus*, *iogon* < **jōcunt*, *logui* < **lōco*. The form *püoc* or *püec* < **pōtui* is regularly reserved for the first person, *pōtuit* being represented by *pōc*.

2. A few cases of irregular breaking are easily explained: *püosc* *püesc* (= **pōssum*) and *püosca* *püesca* (= **pōssim*) owe their diphthong either to earlier forms with *s'* or to the analogy of *püec*; *sōfre* *süefre* *süfre* (= **sūffert*) are from **sōfferit*, formed upon **ōfferit* = *ōffert* (cf. § 33, 1); *vüelc* (= **vōlui*) follows the analogy of *vüelh* (< **vōleo* = *vōlo*) and of *püec*.

u

38. Cl. L. *ū* > V. L. *u* > Pr. *ü*: **habūtus* > *avütz*, *jūstum* > *iüst*, *mūrum* > *mür*, *mūtus* > *mütz*, *nūdus* > *nütz*, *plūs* > *plüs*.

The date of the change of *u* into *ü* is not known; there is no *ü* in Catalan, and there may have been none in early Gascon. It seems likely that the Celts, when they adopted Latin, pronounced *ū* a little further forward in the mouth than did the Romans; that their *u* continued to advance gradually toward the front of the mouth until it became *ü*; and that this *ü* spread to the parts of France that were not

originally Celtic.¹ In the literary period the sound was probably ü in most or all of the Provençal dialects.

1. Pr. onze represents a V. L. **ündċim*, which in Gaul and Spain replaced *ündċim*. Lõita lücha, trõcha trücha probably go back to Latin double forms, **lũcta lũcta*, **trũcta trũcta*.

2. Nõssas < **nõptias* = *nũptias*, by analogy of **nõvius*, 'bridegroom,' from *nõvus*.

3. Before u, Pr. ü apparently became i: *nũbem* > **nũu* > *niu*, *pũllem* > **pũuze* > *piuze*. See §§ 63, (4); 74, (2).

au

39. Cl. L. au > V. L. au > Pr. au: *aurum* > *aur*, *gaudium* > *gaug*, *paucum* > *pauc*, *thesaurus* > *tesaurs*.

1. *Bloi* < *blauþr*, *ioi*, *ioia*, *ioios*, *lotia* < **laubja*, *noiza*, *onta* < *haunþa*, *or*, *sor*, *tesor*, etc., are French or Poitevin; *ioi* is a good Poitevin form. *Iai*, 'joy,' seems to be a fusion of *ioi* and Pr. *iai* = *gai*.

2. *Anta* < *haunþa* is unexplained.

UNACCENTED VOWELS.

40. (1) The fate of an unaccented vowel depended largely upon the syllable in which it stood: in general, unstressed vowels in the initial syllable remained intact, while all vowels, except a, fell (at different dates) in the other syllables. The fall of unaccented vowels resulted in many new consonant groups: *collocāre* > *colcār*, *hóminem* > *ómne*, *sábbatum* > *sápte*.

(2) The vowels e and i, instead of falling or remaining unchanged, became y in Vulgar Latin, early in our era: *alea* > *alya*, *diŭrnus* > *dyŭrnus*, *mĕdium* > *mĕdyu*. Similarly u became w: *placui* > *placwi*, *tĕnuis* > *tĕnwis*.

1. Apparently, however, *ĕĕ*, *ĭĭ* > e; *oó*, *uó* > o: *prĕhĕndĕre* > *prĕndĕre*; *abiĕtem* > **abĕtem*, *facĭbat* > **facĕbat*, *parĭtem* > *parĕtem*, *quĭctus* >

¹ For a discussion of the date, see K. Nyrop, *Grammaire historique de la langue française* (Copenhagen, 1899-1903), I, § 187.

quētus; *cōhōrtem* > *cōrtem*, *cōpērit* > *cōpērit* **cōpērit*; *dūddēcim* > **dōddēcim*. The short e and o in *prēndēre* and **cōpērit* are not accounted for. In *mulhērem*¹ > Pr. *molher* the *i* remained long enough (perhaps under the influence of the nominative *mūlier*) to palatalize the l.

INITIAL SYLLABLE.

41. Usually, in the literary language, Latin a > Pr. a; Latin æ, œ, and e, i (without regard to quantity) > Pr. e; Latin o, u (long or short) > Pr. o; Lat. au > Pr. au, unless the next syllable contained an *ú*, in which case the au was reduced (in the Vulgar Latin time) to a. Ex.: *amicum* > amic, *caballus* > cavals; *æquālem* > egal, **pænītēre* > penēdre, *dēbēre* > deveř, *mēliōrem* > melhōř, *dilēctum* > deleit, *divinum* > devin, *dividēre* > devire, *fīnīre* > fenir, *mīnōrem* > menōř; *plōrāre* > plorar, *sōlātium* > solatz, *cōlōrem* > color, **vōlēre* > voler, *mūstēla* > mostēla, *sūbīnde* > soven; *aucēllum* > auzel, *audire* > auzir, *augūstum* > aost, **augūrium* > aür.

1. An initial vowel is occasionally lost, either through elision with the article (**eclēsia* > *egleisa, la egleisa > la^ggleisa) or through the dropping of a prefix (*ingēnium* > engēnh gēnh): *epīscōpus* > bisbes, *alanda* > lauzeta, *occasiōnem* > ocaiso caiso.

2. In a few words the vowel of the initial syllable disappeared, for some unknown reason, before r in Vulgar Latin: **cōrrōtūlāre* > **crōtūlāre* > crollar, *dirēctus* > drēctus² > dreitz, *quīrītāre* > **crītāre* > cridar.

3. *Domne*, used familiarly as a proclitic (§ 19), lost its first syllable, and, before a vowel, was reduced to *n*. The combinations *de n*, *que n* (followed by a proper name) were understood as *d'en*, *qu'en*; hence the title *en*, 'Sir.' See Schultz-Gora in *Zs.*, XXVI, 588; Elise Richter in *Zs.*, XXVII, 193; V. Cescini, *Manualetto provenzale*, 2d ed., 1905, 168 ff.

4. The proclitic *o* probably comes from a V. L. *ot*, not from *aut*.

42. The vowel of the initial syllable, especially in verbs,

¹ For the accent, see § 16, 1.

² Spelled *drictus*: see Schuchardt, *Vokalismus des Vulgärlateins*, II, 422.

was extremely subject to the influence of analogy: cülhir (o) through cülh (o) < *cölligit*, dizen < *dicentem* through dire < *dicere*, dürar through dür < *dürum* and düra < *dürat*, finir through fin < *finem*, fiçela through fibla < *fibula*, puçiar (o) through puçia (o) < **pödiat*.

1. Avangeli (e) is perhaps influenced by *avan*; bliso (e) < *blas* may possibly have been influenced by *tiso*; gazarðo < *wiðarlôn* shows the influence of *gazanhar*; in piuçela (pülçela) < **püellicella* (Zs., XXV, 343) the piü of the first syllable was changed to piu just as *pültcem* became *piuse* (see § 38, 3); in *vas* = *ves* < *ve(r)sus* the a is due to the analogy of *ax* < *ad*; *vais* is unexplained, *vaus* follows *daus* (§ 44, 6). If *desse* is from *de extn*, the first syllable is irregular. Beside *maniar* < *manducare* are unexplained forms *meniar* *miniar*. In *duptar* (o), *suritz* (o) the u doubtless represents u or o, not ü. *Girofle* < *Καρύφύλλον* and *olifan* *orifan* < *elephantem* are French.

43. Sometimes the initial syllable was altered by a change of prefix or a false idea of etymology: aucire < *occidere* (cf. the Italian and Rumanian forms), diman (e) < *de mäne* (cf. di < *diem*), dementre < *dum intërim* (cf. de < *de*), engoissa < **angüstia* (cf. en < *in*), envanezir < *evanëscere*, escür < *obscurum* (cf. es- < *ex-*), preon prefon (o) < *profundum*, redon < *rotundum* (*re-* in V. L.: Schuchardt, *Vokalismus des Vulgärlateins*, II, 213), trabalh < *trepalium* (cf. tra- < *tra-* = *trans-*). *Dimenge* (also *ditmenge*) is from *'die domínico*.

1. On the same principle are doubtless to be explained such double forms as *evori* (a), *saboros* (e), *socors* (e), *somondre* (e), *soror* (e). *Serori* occurs in a Latin inscription.

2. The prefix *eccu-*, under the influence of *ac* and *atque*, became **accu-* in southern Gaul and elsewhere: *aco* < **accu'hoc*, *aque* < **accu'llum*, *aquest* < **accu'lstum*, *aqui* < **accu'hic*. *Eissi* < *ecce hic* sometimes becomes *aissi* through the analogy of *aissi* < *ac sic*.

3. In such forms as *tresanar*, the prefix *tres-* is French.

44. Local or partial phonetic changes affected the initial

syllable of many words: *demandar* (do-) < *demandāre*, *emplir* (üm-) < *implēre*; *ciutat* *cieutat* < *civitätē*; *eissir* *issir* < *exire*, *getar* *gitar* < **jēctāre*; *crear* *criar* < *creāre*; *merçe* (mar-) < *mercēdem*; *delgat* (dal-) < *delicātum*.

1. Nearly everywhere there is a tendency to change e to o, u, or ü before a labial, especially before m: *premier* *promier* *prumier*, *remas* *romas*, *semblar* *somblar*, *trebalh* *trubalh*. So *de ves* > **do ves* > *dous*.

2. In the 13th century, nearly everywhere, *iu* > *ieu*: *piucela* *pieucela*.

3. Many dialects of the north and west change ei and e to i: *deissendre* *dissendre*, *eissam* *issam*, *eissi* *issi*, *eissilh* *issilh*, *leisso* *lisso*, *meitat* *mitat*; *degerir* (i), *denhar* (i), *disnar*, *en in*, *enfern* (i), *entrar* (i), *envers* (i), *escien* *icient*, proclitic *est* *ist*, *estar* (i), *estiers* (i), *Felip* (i), *gelos* (i), *genhos* (i), *genolh* (i), *gequir* (i), *guereiar* (i), *gucrensa* (i), *ï(n)vern*, *isnel* *irnel*, *peior* *pigor*, proclitic *per* *pir*, *premier* (i), *semblar* (i), *serven* (i), *serventes* (i), *sevals* (i), *trebalhar* (i), *tremblar* (i). In *disnar*, *ïvern*, *isnel* only i is found. In some dialects there is an alternation of e and i, e being used when there is an i in the next syllable, i when there is none: *fenit*, *sirvén*. In *vest* < *vicinum* the e probably goes back to V. L.: cf. Fr.

4. In a few dialects e in hiatus with a following vowel becomes i: *crear* *criar*, *leal* *lial*, *prear* *priar*, *preon* *prion*, *real* *rial*.

5. In many dialects of the north and west e has a tendency to become a before r: *guerentia* *garensa*, *merce* *marce*, *pergamen* *pargamen*.

6. In some dialects there is a tendency to assimilate e to an á in the next syllable: *delgat* *dalgat*, *gigant* *iaian*, *deman* (a), *semblar* (a), *serrar* (a), *tremblar* (a). So *de vás* (§ 42, 1) > *da vás* > *dávas*; hence *daus*, under the influence of *deus* > *de ves*.

INTERTONIC SYLLABLE.

45. The term *intertonic* is applied to the syllable that follows the secondary (§ 18) and precedes the primary accent. In this position all vowels, except a, regularly disappeared in popular words, probably between the 5th and the 8th century¹; a apparently remained: **büllicāre* > *boiar* (bollegar),

¹ The period of the fall of the intertonic vowel covers, in part, the period of the voicing of intervocalic surds (§ 65); sometimes the vowel fell too soon for the surd

bõñtātem > bontat, **carricāre* > carcar cargar, *caballīcāre* > cavalcar cavalgar, *cērēbēllum* > cervel, *civītātem* > ciutat, *cōllōcāre* > colcar colgar, *dēlicātum* > delcat delgat, *excommūnicāre* **excommīnicāre* > escomeniar, *vērēcūndia* > vergonha; *calamēllum* > calamel, *invadēre* **invadire* > envazir, *margarita* > margarida, *mirabilia* > miravilha, *parav(e)rēdus* > palafres.

1. The vowel is preserved in a number of words in which it originally bore the secondary accent (§ 18): *abbrēviāre* > abreuvar, *calūmniāre* > caloniar, **erlciōnem* > erisso; on the other hand, **cominltiāre* (through **comin'tiāre*) > comensar, *partitiōnem* (through **pārtiōnem*) > parso. Cf. Zs., XXVII, 576, 684, 693, 698, 701, 704. When kept, the vowel is sometimes altered: **carōnea* **carōneāta* > caraunhada, **cupīdiētōsus* > cobeitos cobitos, *pāpiliōnem* > pabalho.

2. The prefix *mīnus-* was reduced to *mis-* (or *mes-*) in Gaul, perhaps at the close of the Vulgar Latin period: **mīnus-prētiat* > *mespresa*. *Menes-* was used also. Cf. P. Marchot, *Phon.*, pp. 43, 44.

3. *Mostier* is from **monistērium*, altered, by the influence of *ministērium*, from *monastērium*. *Comprar* is from V. L. *comperare*. *Calmelh* *calmelha* (cf. *calamel* above) are Provençal formations from *calm*. *Caresma* or *caresme* seems to be from V. L. **quarrēsīma* = *quadragēsīma*. *Anedier* < *anatarium* shows the influence of *anēt anet* < *andēm* (§ 48, 1).

4. In learned words the vowel is generally preserved: *irregulār*, *irritār*, *pelicān*, *philosophia*. The vowel is, however, often altered, the exchange of e and i being particularly frequent: *esperīt*, *femenīl*, *orifān*, *peligrī* (e), *soteirān* (*sotrān*) < *subterraneum* influenced by *dereirān* and *primeirān*.

46. Very often the intertonic vowel was preserved by the analogy of some cognate word or form in which that vowel was stressed: *devinār* through *devīn*, *finimén* through *finīr*, *guerreziār* through *guerrēia*, *noiridúra* through *noirīr*, *oblidār* through *oblīt*, *pertusār* through *pertúsa*, *reusar* through *reúsa*, *servidór* through *servītre*.

to be voiced, sometimes it did not. The relation of the fall of unstressed vowels to the development of intervocalic consonants, in French, has been examined by L. Clédet in the *Revue de philologie française*, in a series of articles beginning XVII, 122. Cf. P. Marchot, *Phon.*, pp. 84-90.

1. In such cases the preserved vowel is sometimes altered, the exchange of *e* and *i* being especially common: *avinén*, *covinén*, *sovinén*¹, cf. *venír*, *ven*; *enginhár*, *enginhós*, cf. *genh*; *envelsír*, cf. *víl*; *gememén*, cf. *gemír*; *issarnít* (*eissernít*), from *excèrnère*; *randóla*, from *hiründüla*, perhaps influenced by *randón*; *temerós* (*o*), from **timorōsus*, influenced by *temér*; *traazó* (*i*), from *traditiōnem*, with a substitution of suffix; *volentiés*, from *voluntarius*, under the influence of *volén* < *volentem*.

PENULT.¹

47. (1) The vowel of the penult of proparoxytones fell in many words in Vulgar Latin, especially between a labial and another consonant, and between two consonants one of which was a liquid: **avīca* > **auca*, *cōm(i)tem*, *cōmp(u)tum*, *dēb(i)tum*, *dōm(i)nus*²; *alt(e)ra*, *vīg(i)lat*, *cal(i)dus*, *vīr(i)dem*; *frig(i)dus*, *nītidus* > **nīttus*, *pōs(i)tus*, *pūtīdus* > **pūttus*.

(2) The classic Latin *-culus* comprises an original *-clus* (*sæclum*) and an original *-culus* (*aurīcula*). In popular Latin both were *-clus* (**macla*, *ōclus*, etc.), to which was assimilated *-tūlus* in current words (*vētūlus* > *vēclus*, etc.).

(3) Many popular words which in Vulgar Latin had very generally lost the vowel were for some reason introduced into southern Gaul in their classical forms, and not a few were adopted both in the uncontracted and in the syncopated state: *fragīlem* > *frágel* (cf. Fr. *fraille*, It. *frale*), *jūvēnem* > *iove* (cf. Fr. *iuevne*); *clēricum* > *clērgue* *clēr'cum* > *clerc*, *dēbī-tum* > *deute* *dēb'tum* > *depte*, *flēbīlem* > *frēvol* *flēb'lem* > *frēble*, *mal'habītum* > *malaute* *mal'hab'tum* > *malapte*, *nītidum* > *nēde* **nīttum* > *net*, *hōmīnem* > *ome* *hōm'nem* > *omne*, *pōpū-lum* > *pōbol* *pōp'lum* > *poble*.

1. *Cōgnitum* seems to have become **cōnhede*, whence *coinde cucnde conge*. Cf. § 79, Gnd, Gnt.

¹ Cf. H. Wendel, *Die Entwicklung der Nachtonvokale aus dem Lateinischen ins Provenzalische*, 1906.

² *Domnus* may be the older form.

48. The unaccented penult vowels that had not already fallen disappeared, in most cases, in the transition from Latin to Provençal: **carrīcat* > *carca*, *collōcat* > *colca*, *cūrrēre* > *corre*, *spathūla* > *espatla*, **ēssēre* (= *ēsse*) > *estre*, *ī(n)sūla* > *isla*, *pēssimum* > *peşme*, *pōnēre* > *ponre*, **ridēre* > *rire*, *tabūla* > *taula*, *iōllēre* > *tolre*.

1. A apparently was more tenacious than other vowels, and frequently remained as an indistinct e: *andēm* > *ánet*, which, being associated with the diminutive ending *-ēt*, became *anét* (cf. modern Pr. *anèdo*); *cannābim* > *cānebe* (learned?); *collāphum* > **cólebe* > *colbe*, but *cōl'phum* > *colp*; *Stēphānum* > *Esteve*; *lampāda* > *lámpeza*; *ōrgānum* > *órguene* (later *or-guéne*) *ōrgue*; *ōrphānum* > *orfe*; *raphānum* > *rāfe*; *Rhōdānum* > *Rōzer*; **sēcāle* (= *sēcāle*) > *séguel* (but cf. modern *segle selho*). Cf. A. Thomas in the *Journal des savants*, June, 1901, p. 370. See also P. Marchot, *Phon.*, pp. 90-94. Cf. § 45, footnote. It is noteworthy that **cólebe* ultimately lost its penult, while the other words lost the final syllable or none.

49. Under certain conditions, however, a vowel which had not fallen in the Latin of southern Gaul was often kept in Provençal. It was then probably indistinct in sound, and was written usually *e*, but occasionally *o*.

(1) After *c'*, *g'*, or *y* the vowel was apparently retained in some dialects and lost in others. When the *c'*, *g'*, or *y* was intervocalic, forms with and without the vowel are about equally common; when the *c'*, *g'*, or *y* was preceded by a consonant, forms with the vowel predominate, and after cons. + *c'* the vowel was apparently never lost. After intervocalic *c'*: *cōcēre* (= *cōquēre*) > *coire* *cozer*, *dīcēre* > *dire* *dizer*, *dūcēre* > *dūire* **dūzer* (*condūcir* *dedūzir*), *facēre* > *faire* **fāzer* (*fazedor*, etc.), *gracīlem* > *graile*, **nōcēre* (= *nōcere*) > *noire* *nozer*, *placītum* > *plach*, *sōcērum* > *sōzer* (*sogre* is from *sōcrum*), **vōcītum* (= *vacuum*) > *vuech*. After intervocalic *g'* or *y*: *bajūlus* > *bailes*, *fragīlem* > *frágel*, *imagīnem* > *imáge*, *lēgēre* > *leire* *legír* (through **leger*?), *rīgīdum* > *reide* *rege*, *rīgīda* >

regeza, **tragère* (= *trahère*) > traire *tragír* (through **tráger*?). After cons. + *c'*: *carcer* > *cárcer*, *crēscere* > *creïsser*, *nascere* > *naïsser*, *pascere* > *páïsser*, *parcere* > *párcer*, **torcere* (= *törquere*) > *torzer*. After cons. + *g'* or *y*: *angēlum* > *ängel* (learned?), **cōll'gère* (= *cōlligère*, through *cōlligo* etc.) > *çolre* *cuelher colhír*, **dē-ēr'gère* (= *ērigère*) > *dēdre derzer*, **fūlgērem* (from *fūlger* = *fūlgur*) > *fouzer*, *jūngère* > *iõnher*, *marginem* > *marge*, *plangère* > *planher*, *virginem* > *vergena verge*.

(2) After *ks*, *s*, *ss*, and *sy* the vowel was apparently retained in some dialects and lost in others: *dixērunt* > *diron* *disseron* (through **dísseron*)¹, *dūxērunt* > *düystrent düïsseron* (**düïsseron*), *fraxīnum* > *fraisne fraisse*, *traxērunt* > *traïsseron* (**traïsseron*), *tōxīcum* > *tuēissec*; *asīnum* > *asne ase*, *mīserum* > *miser* (learned), **prē(n)sērunt* > *preşon prezeron* (**prezeron*), *rema(n)sērunt* > *remastrent remaşeron* (**remaşeron*); **ēssere* (= *esse*) > *estre eşser* (used in Rouergue, Limousin, Marche, and Dauphiné), **mīssērunt* (= *mīserunt*) > *meştrunt* (*meşdren*) *meşeron* (**meşseron*), *passērem* > *pášser*; **cō(n)sēre* (= *consuere*) > *coser* (*cozír* is from V. L. **cosire*).

(3) Between a labial and a dental the vowel was apparently kept: *cūpīdum* > *çobe*,² *fēmīna* > *femena feme* (but *fēm'na* > *femna*), *jūvēnem* > *iõve*, **lūmīnem* > *lūme* (*lūmen* > *lūm*), *hōmīnem* > *ómen óme* (but *hōm'nēm* > *omne*), *tēpīdum* > *tebe*,² *tērmīnum* > *terme*. Cf. § 48, 1.

(4) Between a dental and a guttural the vowel remained long enough for the guttural to become *y* (§ 52; § 65, G): *mēdicum* > **meðegu* > **meðeye* > *meðze* (= *mege*). If the first consonant was a liquid or a nasal, the vowel apparently allowed the guttural to become *y* in some dialects, but not in

¹ The change of accent, in this verb and others, was due to the analogy of the first and fourth conjugations (*canteron*, *sentíron*) and to the influence of the second person plural (*dissetz*).

² The feminine forms *cobéza*, *tebéza*, etc., show a change of accent.

others: **carricat* > caria carga, *clēricum* > clerie clergue, *mōnāchum* > monie mongue. *Caballīcat* > cavalga, *cōllōcat* > çolca çolga show an earlier fall. In *clēr'cum* > clerc the fall goes back to Latin times.

(5) Between lv and r the vowel was kept in some dialects and lost in others: *sōlvēre* > sɔlver sɔlvre, *vōlvēre* > vɔlver vɔlvre, *pūlvērem* > polvera.

50. Some learned proparoxytones kept for a while both post-tonic vowels (usually written *e*), but most of them ultimately either shifted their accent to the penult (§ 17, 1) or dropped their final syllable: *domēstīcum* > domēstegue, *lacrima* > lágrema, *mēritum* > merite, *hōrrīda* > ɔreza, *rēgimen* > régeme; *fīstūla* > festóla, *fragīlem* > fragíl, *mēritum* > merít, *tērmīnum* > termíni; *diacōnum* > diágue, *flēbīlem* > frēvol (cf. *flēb'lem* > frēble), *nītidum* > nede (cf. **nittum* > net), *ōrdīnem* > órde, *pōpūlum* > pɔbol (cf. *pōp'lum* > pɔble), *prīncīpem* > príncep prínce. Cf. § 47, (3).

FINAL SYLLABLE.

51. As early as the 8th century, in popular words, the vowels of final syllables fell, the fall occurring first, perhaps, after liquids: *hērī* > ɛr, *malē* > mal; *bōnūs* > bos, *cōlāphūm* > çolp, *cōgīto* > cüg, *panēm* > pan, *prētiūm* > prɛtz.

(1) Latin *a*, however, remained, being generally pronounced *ɑ*: *audiām* > auia, *bōnā* > bona, *filiās* > filhas.¹

(2) Latin final *i* probably remained in all dialects later than the 8th century, and in some until the beginning of the literary period: *hábui* > águi > aguí. Before it fell, it changed an accented *ɛ* in the preceding syllable to *ɪ*: see § 27.

¹ In most of the modern dialects (but not in Gascony and lower Languedoc) this *a* has become *o*: *rosa* > *roso*. But in the Limousin dialects and some others -as > -a: *rosas* > *rosa*.

(3) Latin *i* and *u* remained if they were immediately preceded by an accented vowel: *fui* > *fui*, *mēi* > *mēi*, *sui* > *sui*; *cavum* **caum* > *chau*, *dēus* > *dēus*, *ēgo* **ēo* **ēu* > *eu*, *riuum* < *riu*. In such cases the two vowels formed a diphthong.

(4) Before final *nt* Latin *e*, *u* remained as *e*, *o*: *cantent* > *canten*, *vēndunt* > *vendon*.

1. In Aude, Tarn, Aveyron, Corrèze, and a part of Haute-Garonne, final *i* was preserved as late as the 12th century: *pagadi*, *salvi*, *solī*. See *Rom.*, XIV, 291-2 and XXXIV, 362. Such forms occur also in Vaud and Dauphiné. Cf. *Gram.*, II, p. 82. — In the dialect of some texts, *-i*, before falling, palatalized a preceding *l* (or *ll*), *n* (or *nn*), *nd*, *nt*, or *t*: *annī* > *anh*, *bellī* > *beill*, **infantī* > *efanh*, **spiritī* > *esperih*, *mundī* > *monh*. See *Rom.*, XXXIV, 353.

2. In the extreme east there are traces of final *-ōs*: *aquestos*, *ellos*, *tantos*.

3. *Grau* for *gra* < *gradum*, *niu* for *ni* < *nīdum* are Catalan. *Amiu* for *amic* < *amicum*, *chastiu* for *chastic* < *castīgo* belong to the dialect of Forez, and point to a very early fall of the guttural in that dialect. Cf. § 65, D, G.

4. *Aire*, *vaire*, beside *air* < *aīrem*, *vair* < *varium*, probably show the influence of the numerous nouns in *-aire* (*amaire*, etc.); cf. § 52, (1). *Fores* beside *fors* < *fōris*, *nemes* beside *nems* < *nīmis*, *senes* beside *sens* < *sīne* probably developed the *e* when the next word began with a consonant: see § 62, (3). For *colbe*, see § 48, 1. *Reide rede* perhaps owes its *-e* to *rege*: § 49, (1). Beside *volp* < *vūlpem* there is a *volpe*.

5. *Coma*, beside *com*, *con*, *co* < *quōmō(do)*, apparently owes its *-a* to the analogy of the adverbs *bona* and *mala* and other adverbs of manner. For a different explanation, see J. Vising in the *Tobler Festschrift* (*Abhandlungen Herrn Prof. Dr. Tobler . . . dargebracht*, 1895), p. 113.

6. *E* seems to have been inserted in the second person singular of some verbs, to distinguish it from the third person: *co(g)nōscis* < *co-noissēs*, *co(g)nōscit* > *conqīs*.

52. When the fall of the vowel would have resulted in an undesirable consonant group at the end of a word, the vowel was retained as an indistinct *e*: *dūbīto* > *dopte*, *lūcrum* > *logre*.

The principal groups that call for a supporting vowel are:

(1) a consonant and a liquid; (2) a labial and a dental; (3) in proparoxytones, a consonant and a *c'* or *c* originally separated by the vowel of the penult; (4) in proparoxytones, a consonant and an *m* or *n* originally separated by the vowel of the penult. Ex.: *inter* > entre; *aptum* > apte; **dōdēcim* > dotze, *jūdīco* > iütge; **Jacōmus* > Iacmes, *asīnum* > asne.

If the word was a paroxytone, and the first consonant was a palatal and the second an *r*, the supporting vowel stood between the two: *major* > maier, *mēlior* > melher, *mūlier* > molher, *pějor* > peier, *sēnior* > senher. Otherwise the supporting vowel followed the consonant group.

The four classes of groups (aside from the palatal + *r* just mentioned) will now be examined in detail:—

(1) Examples: *alter* > autre, *Carōlus* > Carles, *dūplus* > doubles, **ēssēre* > estre, *fabrum* > fabre, **mēr(ū)lum* > merle, *nōster* > nostre, *pauper* > paubre, *pōp(ū)lum* > poble, *pōnēre* > ponre, *recipēre* > recebre, *rūmpēre* > rompre, *tōllēre* > tolre, *vōlvēre* > volvre; *masculum* > mascle, etc.; *flēb(i)lem* > freble, etc. Under this head is included *r-r* (*cūrrere* > corre, *quārēre* > querre), but not *ll* and *rr* (*bēllum* > bel, *fērrum* > fer). In Provençal the first element was often changed, later than the 8th century, into a vowel, original *b* and *v* becoming *u*, and *d*, *t*, *c*, *g*, and *y* being turned to *i*: *bībēre* > beure, *scribēre* > escriure, **mōvēre* > moure, *plōvēre* > ploure, *vivēre* > viure; *lutro* > laire, *matrem* > maire, *radēre* > raire, **ridēre* > rire, *vītrum* > veire; *desidēro* > desire, etc.; *amātor* > amaire, *servītor* > servir, etc.; *dīcēre* > dire, *dūcēre* > diure, *facēre* > faire, *gracīlem* > graile, **tacēre* > taire; *frigēre* > frire, *weigāro* gaire, *lēgēre* > leire; *bajūlum* > baile. Apparent exceptions to the rule are intervocalic *cl*, *gl*, which were probably reduced to single consonants before the 8th century: *ōc(ū)lum* > olh, *vīg(i)lo* > velh.

1. The rare forms *frair*, *mair*, *pair*, *Peir* (still used in Gascony), beside regular *fraire*, *maire*, *paire*, *Peire*, are probably due to proclitic use; so *sor* beside *sorre* < *sōror*, and possibly *faur* beside *faure* < *faber*. The learned *albir* = *albre* < *arbitrium* may be due to the analogy of other double forms. *Dimerc* for *dimercre* (§ 17, 2) perhaps follows *dimenc*.

2. Rr requires a vowel in a few dialects: *corre* = *cor* < *cūrrit*, *ferre* = *fer* < *fērrum*, *torre* = *tor* < *tūrrem*.

(2) Examples: *cūbītum* > *code*; *cōmītem* > *comte*; *dēbītum* > *depte* *deute*, § 47, (3); *dōmnum* > *domne*; *dūbīto* > *dopte*; *hōspītem* > *oste*; *sabbātum* > *sapte*.

1. *Azaut* seems to be post-verbal from *asautar* < *adaptāre*. *Escrit* < *scriptum* shows the influence of *dīt* < *dictum*. *Malaut*, beside *malaute* *malapte* < *mal'habītum*, is reconstructed from the feminine *malauta* on the model of *aut*, *auta*. *Set* < *sēptem* must have developed as a proclitic.

(3) Examples: *jūdicem* > *iūtge*¹; *pōllīcem* > *pouze*; *quīndē-cim* > *quinze*; *salīcem* > *sauze*; *sēdēcim* > *sedze*; — *canōnīcum* > *canonge* *canorgue*,² § 49, (4); *clēricum* > *clerge* *clergue* (§ 48, 2); *mēdicum* > *meṭge*; *mōnāchum* > *monge* *mongue* *morgue*,² § 49, (4); *vīndīco* > *venie*; *viaticum* > *viatge*, etc.

1. The forms *poutz*, *sautz*, beside *pouze*, *sauze*, would seem to indicate that *lc'* did not require a supporting vowel in all dialects.

2. **Ficotum* (= *jēcur*), a fusion of *σικωρβν* ('fig-fattened') and *fīcus*, combined with **hēpāte* (= *hēpar*), became **fēcātu* **fēcitu* **fēgidu*, and then, through the influence of the familiar ending -igu (= *icum*), **fēdigu* > *fetge*. See G. Paris in *Miscellanea linguistica in onore di G. Ascoli*, 1901, p. 41; H. Schuchardt in *Zs.*, XXV, 615, and XXVIII, 435; L. Clédât in *Revue de philologie française et de littérature*, XV, 235. *Pege*, for *peich* < *pēctus*, seems to be due to the analogy of *fetge*.

(4) Examples: *æstīmo* > *esme*; *dēcīmum* > *deṣme*; *fraxī-num* > *fraisne*; *incūdīnem* > *enclūtge* (cf. § 80, Dn); **met-īpsīmum* > *medesme*; *pēssīmum* > *peṣme*; *prōxīmus* > *proṣmes*.

¹ The *tg* in this word is probably due to the influence of *iutiar* < *jūdīcāre*.

² The forms with *r* may be due to dissimilation or to the influence of *clergue*.

1. Faim < *factmu(s)* doubtless lost its -e through the analogy of the alternative form *fazem* < **factmu(s)* and of the usual endings -ám, -ëm.

(5) In some dialects, at least, by, mby, mny, py, rny required a supporting vowel: *rûbeum* > *rotge*, *cambio* > *camie*, *sömnium* > *songe suenh*, *apium* > *ache api*, **Arvërnium*¹ > *Alvernhe*; *ratge* (= *rabiem*) is probably French. Original *lm*, *rm*, *sm* required a supporting vowel in some dialects but not in others: *hëlm* > *elme elm*, *ülum* > *olme olm*, *palmum* > *palm*; **ërmum* (ἐρημον) > *erm*, *fîrmum* > *fërm*, *gërmen* > *germe*; *spasum* > *espasme*.

(6) Many verbs regularly have an -e in the first person singular of the present indicative: *desire*, *döpte*, *iütge*, etc. By the analogy of these, -e often appears in the first person singular of verbs which need no supporting vowel: *remïro* > *remir remire*. By the analogy of the preterit (*águi*, *füi*, etc.), -i is very often substituted for this -e: *azor azori*, *cant canti*, *pretz prezi*, etc.

53. Many late words preserve the final vowel as -e: *bénigne*, *bisbe* < *episcöpum*, *digne* (cf. *denhar*), *mixte* (cf. *mest*), *regne* (cf. *reing*), *signe* (cf. *senh*). Cf. § 50; (for *çolbe*) § 48, 1; and (for *çoinde*, etc.) § 47, 1. Learned formations from nouns in -ium usually end in -i, simply dropping the -um: *capitoli*, *edifici*, *emperï*, *iüzïzi*, *martïri* (*martïre*), *neçoçi*, *offci*, *periüri*, *remezi*, *servïzi*, *vici*. Similar forms in -i were sometimes taken from the accusative of nouns and adjectives in -ius: *Boçi* < *Boëthium*, *proçi* (*propre*) < *proprïum*, *savi* < *sabium*.

1. It should be remembered that the Latin words, at the time of their adoption, had undergone various phonetic changes in the clerical pronunciation: cf. § 15. A form *remezi*, for instance, presupposes a pronunciation of *remëdium* as *remeðiu(m)*.

¹ *Alvernia* is attested: cf. *Zs.*, XXVI, 123. The usual form is *Arvernium*.

3. CONSONANTS.

54. The Latin consonants which we have to consider are: b, c (=k), d, f, g, h, j (=y), l, m, n, p, qu (=kw), r, s, t, v (=w), x (=ks). To these we must add the Vulgar Latin w coming from u, and y coming from e, i: see §. 40, (2). Furthermore, in words borrowed from Germanic dialects we find b, ð, h, k, p, w, which call for special notice; and, in words borrowed from Greek, ch, k, ph, th, z.

The Latin d, f, j, l, p, t call for no remark at present. Latin h, in popular speech, became silent very early (*hōc* > *ōc*, *hōmo* > *ōmo*), and, although an attempt was made to restore it in polite speech, it left no trace in the Romance languages: cf. *Rom.*, XI, 399. Double consonants were pronounced distinctly longer than single ones: *annus*, *ille*, *ōssum*, *tērra*.

55. Latin b, c, g, m, n, qu, r, s, v, w, x, y show the following developments in popular Latin speech:—

B between vowels became, through failure to close the lips tightly, β (bilabial v), from the 1st to the 3d century of our era: *habēre* > aβēre. The same change took place, to a certain extent, when the b was not intervocalic, but we have few, if any, traces of it in Provençal. Between vowels, even in learned words, the clerical pronunciation was probably β or v until the 7th century. Cf. V.

C before a front vowel (e, i), as early as the 3d century, doubtless had, in nearly all the Empire, a front or palatal articulation; that is, it was formed as close as possible to the following vowel¹: *cēntum* > c'ēntu, *dūcēre* > dūc'ēre. The next step was the introduction of an audible glide, a brief y, between the c' and the vowel²: c'yēntu, dūc'yere. By the

¹ Compare, in English, the c of *coo* and the k of *key*.

² Compare the old-fashioned pronunciation of words like *card*, *kind*.

5th century this *c'y* had developed into a kind of *ty*, the *c'* having been drawn still further forward: *t'yentu d'ut'yere*. Through a modification of the *y*-glide, the group then became, in the 6th or 7th century, *tš* or *ts*: *tšentu tšentu*. See H. Schuchardt, *Voc.*, I, 151, and *Ltblt.*, XIV, 360; P. E. Guarnierio, in *Supplementi all'Archivio glottologico italiano*, IV (1897), pp. 21-51 (cf. *Rom.*, XXX, 617); G. Paris, in the *Journal des sàvants*, 1900, 359, in the *Annuaire de l'École pratique des Hautes-Études*, 1893, 7, in the *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1893, 81, and in *Rom.*, XXXIII, 322; W. Meyer-Lübke, *Einf.*, pp. 123-126; F. G. Mohl, *Zs.*, XXVI, 595; P. Marchot, *Phon.*, pp. 51-53; W. Meyer-Lübke, in *Bausteine zur romanischen Philologie*, 313. Cf. G and X.¹

G between vowels, before the accent, disappeared in some words in at least a part of the Empire: *le(g)ālis*, *li(g)āmen*, *re(g)ālis*, (*realis* is attested for the 8th century); *ēgo*, generally used as a proclitic, everywhere lost its *g*; on the other hand, *g* was kept in *castigāre*, *fatigāre*, *ligāre*, *negāre*, *pagānus*. G before a front vowel (*e*, *i*), by the 1st or 2d century, was pronounced *g'* (cf. C): *gēntem* > *g'ēnte*, *fragīlis* > *frag'ilis*. As early as the 4th century this *g'*, through failure to form a close articulation, opened into *y*²: *yēnte*, *fráyilis*. Before an accented *e* or *i* an intervocalic *y* disappeared, in the greater part of the Empire, being fused with the vowel: *magīster* > *mayīster* > *maēster*, **pagēnsis* > *payēsis* > *paēsis*, *regīna* > *re-yīna* > *reīna*.¹

M and n, when final, were weak and indistinct from the earliest times, except in monosyllables; by the 3d or 4th cen-

¹ For final *-ci*, *-gi* in plurals, see § 92, (2).

² Before this, *frīgīdus* had become *frīgḡdus* in Italy and Gaul.

tury they had probably disappeared altogether from the end of polysyllables: *damnu*, *nome*; but *jam*, *non*.

N before spirants (f, j, s, v), except in the prefixes *con-* and *in-*, became silent during the Republican period, the preceding vowel, if it was short, being lengthened by compensation¹: *mē(n)sis*, *pē(n)sare*. If the syllable *con-* or *in-* was not recognized as a prefix, the n fell: *co(n)sul*, *co(n)ventum*, *i(n)fas*. In learned and newly constructed words the n was pronounced. Cf. M.

Qu, gu before o or u were reduced to c, g in the 1st or 2d century: see W.

R before s, in a number of words, became s in the Republican period: *deōrsu* > *deōssu*, *dōrsu* > *dōssu*, *sūrsum* > *sūssu*; so, in a part of the Empire, *pērsica* > *pēssica*, *vērsus* (preposition) > *vēssu*. Early in our era ss after a long vowel was reduced to s: *deōsu*, *sūsu*.

S was probably always voiceless, or surd, in classic Latin, but became voiced between vowels, in Gaul, at the end of the Vulgar Latin period: *casa*. To initial s + consonant an i or e was prefixed, at first, no doubt, after a word ending in a consonant: *in schōla* > *in iscōla*; this process began in the 2d century and had become general by the 4th.

V, originally pronounced w, became β probably in the 1st century: *vivēre* > *βiβēre*. Before u, v regularly disappeared, but it was restored by analogy in many words: *flavus* > *flaus*, *ōvum* > *ōum*, *rīvus* > *rius*; but also *ōvum*, *rīvus*, by the analogy of *ova*, *rivi*. In the greater part of the Empire v apparently fell also before an accented o: *pavōnem* > *paōne*, *pavōrem* > *paōre*. Cf. W. When a β, representing either b or v,

¹ It is natural to suppose that the n, in falling, nasalized the vowel; but no trace of this nasality remains.

became contiguous to a following consonant, it changed to u: **avica* > aβica > auca, *gabāta* > gaβata > gauta, **flavītat* > flaβītat > flautat. In several words *rv* became *rb* in Latin: *vervēcem* > berbēce berbice, *cōrvus* > cōrbus, *cūrvus* > cūrbus.

W coming, in the 2d or 3d century, from *u* (§ 40) differed from Latin *v*, then pronounced β, but was probably identical with Germanic *w*: *dēbuī* > dēbwī, *placui* > placwī *sapuit* > sapwit, *tēnuis* > tēnwis. W fell between a consonant and o or u: *antiquus* > antīcus, *battuo* > batto, *carduus* > cardus, *cōquus* > cōcus, *distinguo* > distīngo, *mōrtuus* > mōrtus; so *eccu'hōc* > Pr. *aco*. Cf. Qu.

X (=ks) was reduced to s, in the 2d or 3d century, before a consonant or at the end of a word of more than one syllable: *sēstus*, *sēnes*; but *sēx*. So the prefix *ex-* > *es-* before any consonant but s: **exgaudēre* > Pr. *esiauzir*, **exlucēre* < Pr. *esluzir*, **exmittēre* > Pr. *esmetre*; *excernēre* > **escernīre* > Pr. *eissernir*. *Ex-* + s apparently became either *ex-* or *ess-*: **exsanguinātum* > Pr. *eissancnat*, **exsaritāre* > Pr. *eissartar*, **exsequēre* > Pr. *essegre*, **exsurgēre* > Pr. *essorger*, **exsūcāre* > Pr. *eissūgar* *essūgar*.

Y coming, in the 2d or 3d century, from *e* or *i*, (§ 40) coincided with Latin *j*: *habeam* > abya, *eāmus* > yamus, *tēneat* > tēnyat; *audio* > audyo, *filia* > fīlya, *vēniat* > vēnyat. As early as the 4th century the groups *dy*, *gy* were reduced to *y*; and *ly*, *ny* probably became *l'*, *n'*: *mēdius* > mēdyus > mēyus, *corrīgia* > corrīgya > correya; *mēlior* > mēlyor > mēl'or, *tēneo* > tēnyo > tēn'o.

56. Germanic b, ð, h, k, p, w call for special mention:—

B did not participate in the change of Latin intervocalic b to β: *roubōn* > Pr. *raubar*. The words containing it were evidently adopted after this phonetic law had ceased to operate.

ð, þ were pronounced by the Latins as d, t: **waiðanjan* > **wadanyāre* > Pr. *gazanhar* (It. *guadagnare*), *prēscan* > **trescāre* > Pr. *trescar*.

H, at the beginning of a word, was lost in the greater part of the Empire, including southern Gaul: *hapja* > **apya* > Pr. *apcha*. H between vowels was lost in some words and replaced by kk in others: *spēhôn* > Pr. *espiar*, *fēhu* > Pr. *fēu*; *jēhan* > **yekkire* > Pr. *gequir*. Ht was regularly replaced by tt: *slahta* > **sclatta* > Pr. *esclata*; but *wahta*, perhaps borrowed at a different period, became Pr. *gaita*.

K, in southern Gaul, did not take the palatal pronunciation before front vowels: *skērnon* > Pr. *esquernir*, *skina* > Pr. *esquina*, *skiuhan* > Pr. *esquivar*, **rik-Itia* > Pr. *riqueza*; only the derivatives of *Franko* (doubtless Latinized early) show palatalization, as **Francia* > Pr. *Fransa*. G, however, seems to have been palatalized: *gīga* > Pr. *giga*, *geisla* > Pr. *giscle*. Before a, in words introduced early, k and g were treated like Latin c and g: *kausjan* > Pr. *cauzir chاوزir*, *gāhi* > Pr. *gai iai*; see § 11, (1).

W was vigorously pronounced, and, through reinforcement of its velar element, came to be sounded gw: *warjan* > **warīre* *gwarīre* > Pr. *garir*, *wērra* > **wērra* *gwerra* > Pr. *guerra*.

57. Greek ζ, θ, κ, φ, χ did not exactly correspond to any Latin consonants: —

Z, whatever may have been its original pronunciation, received in Vulgar Latin the value dy, which then, like any other dy, became y: **zelōsus* (from ζῆλος) = *dyelosus yelosus* > Pr. *gelos*. The infinitive ending -ίζειν, introduced in such words as βαπτίζειν > *baptizāre* = *bapti(d)yāre*, became very common in the form -idyāre -iyāre, and was used to make

new verbs: *wërra* + *l̥eiv* > **werridyäre gwerriyäre* > Pr. *guer-reiar*.

θ, in the popular speech of Rome, was replaced by t: similarly χ was replaced by c: *σπαθή* > *spatha* = *spata*; *χορδή* > *chōrda* = *cōrda*.

κ was apparently intermediate in sound between Latin c and g; it was generally replaced by the former, but sometimes by the latter: *κατά* > *cata*, *κυβερνᾶν* > *gubernare*.

φ, in Greek, was in early times (perhaps until the 4th century of our era) a strongly explosive p; it then developed into f. In words borrowed by the Romans in the early period it was replaced by p; in later words it was sounded f: *κόλαφος* > *cōlāphus* = *cōlapus*, *φασίολος* > *phaseōlus faseōlus*.

58. The fate of all these consonants in Provençal depended largely on their position in the word: we must therefore distinguish *initial*, *medial*, and *final* consonants. In a general way, the first tended to remain unchanged, the second to weaken, the third to disappear. Furthermore we must separate single consonants from consonant groups: the latter resisted change better than the former; but a group consisting of dissimilar elements tended to assimilate them.

INITIAL CONSONANTS.

59. A consonant preceded by a prefix was treated as an initial consonant as long as the character of this preceding syllable was recognized: *de-cadēre* > *decazer*, *de-pīngēre* > *depenher*, *præ-parāre* > *preparar*, *re-cordāre* > *recordar*, *re-patriāre* > *reparar*, *re-pausāre* > *repausar*, *se-dūcēre* > *sedüire*. If, however, the initial syllable ceased to be recognized as a prefix, the following consonant was treated as a medial con-

sonant: *præpōsitum* > prebost, *retōrta* > redorta; so, perhaps, *profūndum* > preon. The rare rebonre (beside reponre) < *re-pōnere* has the special sense 'to bury'.

SINGLE INITIAL CONSONANTS.

60. B, d, l, m, n, p, r, s, t underwent no change: ben, don, loç, me, nau, pauc, rius, si, tü.

1. For *cremetar* < **tremītāre*, see Meyer-Lübke, *Einf.*, § 194. For *granolha* < **ranūcūla*, see Körting, *ranunculus*.

61. C, c', f, g, g', β, y suffered some change. C, g must be distinguished from c', g': § 55, C, G.

C, g before o, u remained unchanged: *colōrem* > colōr, *cūra* > cūra; *gūla* > gōla, *gūtta* > gōta. Before a they changed only in the north and northeast, where they became (perhaps from the 7th to the 9th century) respectively tš and dž: *campus* > camps champs; *gaudere* > gauzir iauzir.

C' > ts, which just before and during the literary period was reduced to s: *cælum* > çel sël, *civitatē* > ciutat ciptat siptat. For g', see Y.

Y, comprising Latin dy, g', gy, j, and z, became dž (except in Béarn, where it remained y): *diurnālem* > iornal (yornal), *deō(r)sum* > iōs; *gēlus* > gēls, *gentilem* > gentil (yentil), *gīrāre* > girar; *jam* > ia, *jōcum* > iōc (yōc), *jūvēnem* > iōve; **zelōsus* > gelōs.

F remained unchanged, except in Béarn and a part of Gascony, where it became h: *famem* > fam ham, *fīdem* > fe he, *fōcum* > fōc hüç, *fōlia* > fuelha huelha.

β > v (the dentilabial spirant), except in Béarn, Gascony, and parts of Languedoc, where it became b: *vēnit* > ven be, *vēntum* > vent bent, *vērsus* (§ 55, R) > vēs bēs, *vōs* > vōs bōs.

1. In a few words β , owing to Germanic influence, was replaced by $w > gw$: *vadum* + *watan* > *gua*, *vastare* + *wbst* > *guastar*. So *vagina* > *guaina*, *Vascōnia* > *Gasconha*. Cf. *gw* below.

INITIAL GROUPS.

62. There are three classes of groups: those ending in *l* or *r*, those ending in *w*, and those beginning with *s*: —

(1) *Bl*, *br*, *cl*, *cr*, *dr*, *gl*, *gr*, *pl*, *pr*, *tr* underwent no change: *blasphemāre* > *blasmar*, *brēvem* > *brēu*, *clarus* > *clars*, *crūcem* > *croetz*, *drappus* > *draps*, *glaciem* > *glatz*, *gradum* > *gra*, *plēnum* > *plen*, *precāre* > *pregar*, *trans* > *tras*. *Gras* is from *grassus*, a fusion of *crassus* and *grossus*. For *grocs* < *krókos* see § 57, *κ*.

(2) *Gw* (Germanic *w*) and *kw* (Latin *qu*) were reduced, perhaps in the 10th century, to *g* and *k*, except in the west, where the *w* was retained: *wahta* > *gaita* *guaita*, *warjan* > *garir* *guarir*, *wërra* > *gerra* *guerra*, *wisa* > *gisa* *guisa*; *quando* > *can* *quan*, *quare* > *car* *quar*. It should be noted that the *u* was commonly kept in the spelling (especially before *e* and *i*) after it had ceased to be pronounced, *gu* and *qu* being regarded merely as symbols for "hard" *g* and *c*. For *cinc* < *quīnque*, see § 87, *kw*. *Sw* remained in *suavem* > *suau*.

(3) To groups beginning with *s* a vowel had been prefixed in Vulgar Latin (§ 55, *S*); this vowel appears in Provençal as *e*. *Sc'* apparently did not occur in any popular word; *sl* early became *scl*; the other groups (*sc*, *scl*, *scr*, *sp*, *st*, *str*) remained unchanged, except that in the north and northeast *sc* > *stš* before *a*: *scala* > *escala* *eschala*, *schōla* > *escola*, *slahta* > **sclatta* > *esclata*, *scribère* > *escriure*, *spina* > *espina*, *stare* > *estar*, *stringère* > *estreñher*.

MEDIAL CONSONANTS.

63. (1) It is well to note at the outset that when, through the fall of an unaccented vowel (§ 51), an early Provençal b, d, dz, dž, g, z, or ž was made final or contiguous to a final s, it became voiceless: *opus* > *obus* > *obs* *ops*, *orbum* > *orbu* > *oʀb* *orp*: *datum* > *dadu* > *dad* *dat*, *vīridem vīrdem* > *verde* > *verd* *vert*; *frētium* > *predzu* > *predz* *prets* (written *pretz*), *vōcem* > *vōdze* > *vōdz* *vots* (written *votz*); *mēdium* > *mēyu* *mēdzu* > *mēdž* *mejš* (written *meg* or *mech*); *amicus* > *amigus* > *amigs* *amics*, *lārgum* > *lārgu* > *lārg* *larc*; *rīsum* > *rīzu* > *rīz* *ris*; *basium* > *bažu* > *baiž* *baiš* (*bais*). The combination *tšs*, however, loses either its second or its third element: **gaudios* > *gautšs* > *gautš* or *gauts* (both of them often written *gaugz*); so *nōctes* > *nuetšs* > *nuetš* or *nuets* (*nuegz*). For local variations of *g*, see (6). For *apud* > *ab ap am an*, see § 65, P, 2.

(2) Under the same conditions, *y* became *i*: *video* > *vēyo* > *vēy* *vei*, *pējus* > *pēyus* > *pēys* *pieis*.

(3) Under the same conditions, *ð*, coming from intervocalic *d*, fell when final, but became *t* before *s*: *audit* > *auði* > *auð* *au*; *crūdus* > *cruðus* > *cruds* *crüts*. So *crūdum* > *crü*, *fīdem* > *fe*, *fraudem* > *frau*, *gradum* > *gra*, *nīdum* > *ni*, *nōdum* > *no*, *pēdem* > *pē*, *sapidum* > *sabe*, *tēpidum* > *tebe*; *grados* > *grats*, *nōdus* > *nots*, *nūdus* > *nüts*, *pēdes* > *pets*. The two sets of forms influenced each other: hence *degras*, *fes*,¹ *nis*, *pes*, etc.; *crut*, *grat*, *not*, *nut*,¹ etc.

(4) Under the same conditions, *β*, coming from *v* or from intervocalic *b*, became *u* if preceded by a vowel, but fell if preceded by a consonant: *bībit* > *beβi* > *beβ* *beu*, *vīvit* > *βiβi* > *βiβ* *viu*, *claves* > *claβes* > *claβs* *claus*, *vīvus* > *βiβus* >

¹ *Fes*, *nut*, which quite supplanted the regular forms, perhaps show the influence of *res*, *mut*.

βiβs *vius*; *salvet* > *sal*, *salvum* > *sal*, *servit* > *sier*, *nervos* > *ners*, *salvus* > *sals*, *servus* > *sers*. Sometimes, however, final *β* preceded by a consonant, instead of falling, became *f*: *salvet* > *salf*, *salvum* > *salf*, *servit* > *sierf*, *vōlvit* > *vōlf*; it may be that these are the only regular forms for cons. + *β* when final, and that *sal*, *sier* are due to the analogy of *sals*, *siers*.

(5) Under the same conditions, final *n*, if preceded by a vowel, was kept in the extreme west, parts of the north, and all the southeast and east, but fell everywhere else; *n* before *s* was generally kept only in the southeast and east: *bēne* > *be ben*, *canem* > *ca can*, *sōnum* > *so son*¹; *bōnus* > *bos bons*, *mansiōnes* > *maisois maisons*. In *minus* > *mēns* the *n* was kept, perhaps through the analogy of *menor*. If the *n* was preceded by a consonant (*r*), the fall seems to have been even commoner: *cōrnu* > *cōr cōrn*, *tōrno* > *tōr tōrn*; *diūrnus* > *iōrs iōrns*. For *iōrnh* < *diūrnī*, see § 51, 1. Provençal *n* coming from *nn* never falls: *annus* > *ans*.

(6) Under the same conditions, *g*, representing original *c* or *g*, became *c* after *o* or *u*, and after other vowels either became *c* or was changed to *i* (which fused with a preceding *i*): *fōcum* > *fōc*, *lōcus* > *lōcs*, *paucum* > *pauc*, *Hūgo* > *Uc*; *Aureliācum* > *Aurelhac*, *dico* > *dic di*, *Henricum* > *Enric Enri*, **trago* > *trac trai*. The forms with *c* are the commoner; they have been most persistent in the west.

(7) The vocalization of *l* before *s* (*malus* > *maus*) is a different phenomenon from the foregoing. See § 65, L.

(8) An *m* or an *n* that becomes contiguous to final *s* often develops into *mp* or *nt*, but oftener (judging from the spellings) does not: *nīmis* > *nems nemps*; *annos* > *ans anz*.

¹ By analogy of such double forms, *n* is sometimes added to a few words ending in a vowel: *fūit* > *fo fon*, *prō* > *pro pron*.

(9) Between a liquid or a nasal and a final s, a b or a p generally fell, unless supported by the analogy of a form in which the b or p was final: *ambos* > *ams ambs*, *cörpus* > *cors*, *tēmpus* > *tems temps*; cf. *balbs* (*balb*), *orbs* (*orb*).

1. The d, n, t of the proclitics *ad*, *quid*, *in*, *aut*, *et* will be treated under Final Consonants.

64. Final ts from any source, in Provence, Limousin, and a part of Languedoc and Gascony, was reduced, during the literary period, to s: *amātis* > *amatz amas*, *habētis* > *avetz aves*, *dīcit* > *ditz dis*, *grandes* > *granz grans*, *latus* > *latz las*, *prētium* > *pretz pres*. On the other hand, in a part of Limousin (especially in Limoges), and also in Dauphiné, -ts, in the second person plural of verbs, became t: *habētis* > *avet*.

SINGLE MEDIAL CONSONANTS.

65. The single medial consonants will now be considered separately, in alphabetical order: —

β, coming from b or v, became v; except in the west and a part of the centre, where, if it remained intervocalic, it changed to b: *habētis* > *avetz abetz*, *debēre* > *dever deber*, *faba* > *fava faba*; *avārum* > *avar*, *æstīva* > *estiva*, *brēvem* > *breu*,¹ *clavem* > *clau*, *diē Jōvis* > *diiqus*, *lēvat* > *leva*, *novēlla* > *novēla nabēra* (Gascon), *vīvus* > *vius*. When the preceding or following vowel was o or u, a β before the accent fell in most dialects, being fused with the vowel: *abūndare* > *aondar abondar*, *gūbērnare* > *goernar governar*, proclitic *ūbī* > *o*, *prōbare* > *proar*, *sūbīnde* > *soēn soven soben*, *tribūtum* > *treüt*; *Lūdovīcus* > *Lozoics*, *Provīncia* > *Proensa Provença*, *novēllum* > *noel novel*, *novēmbrem* > *noembre novembre*, *pavōnem* > *paon*, *pavōrem* > *paor* (cf. § 55, V).

¹ Cf. § 63, (4).

1. The perfect endings *-avi* etc., *-ivi* etc. had lost their *v* in Latin. For *avia*, etc., see § 87, β.

2. *Abans*, beside *avanz*, *avan* < *ab ante*, apparently shows the influence of Pr. *ab* = *apud*. *Abet* < *abiñtem* (§ 40, 1) is unexplained: cf. Italian *abete*. *Abora* is a Provençal compound of *ab* and *ora*. *Trap*, beside *trau* < *trabem*, is doubtless from the nominative *traps* < *trabs*, which seems to have been differentiated in meaning from the V. L. nominative *trabis*.

3. *Brey*, *grey*, *ney*, beside *breu* < *brève*, *greu* < **grève*, *neu* < *nève* (cf. § 25, 1, e), have been subjected to the attraction of *grey* < *grègem*, *ley* < *lègem*. *Greug* is a post-verbal noun from *greuiar* < **grèviare*.

4. *Natis* = *natus* < *nativus* seems to have been influenced by *mestis* < *mixticius*. *Massis* is from **massicius*.

5. *Paziment* = *pavamen* owes its *z* perhaps to the analogy of *aizimen*.

6. In purely learned words, *b* and *v* were written as in Latin: *diabol*, *diluvi*.

C, from the 4th to the 6th century, was voiced to g, and then developed like any other g. See G.

1. After au, apparently, c did not change: **auca* (< **avūca* < *avis*) > *auca*, *pauca* > *pauca*, *rauca* > *rauca*, **traucare* (? < **trabucare*) > *traucar*. Cf. § 65, P, 3.

2. In purely learned words, c remained unchanged: *vocal*. *Alucar* *aluchar*, *aluc* seem to be learned formations patterned after *antelucānus* and Low Latin *lucānus*.

C', when it became contiguous to a consonant, through the fall of the unaccented vowel of the penult, was reduced to i: *cōcēre* > *cōire*, *dicēre* > *diire* *dire*, *dicētis* > *ditz*, *facēre* > *faire*, *facīmu(s)* > *faim*, *facīlis* > *faitz*, *fēcēram* > *feira*, *fēcērunt* > *feiron*, *gracīlem* > *graille*. When it remained intervocalic, it was assibilated during the transition period (§ 55, C); in most of the Provençal territory it became dz, which during the literary period was simplified to z; but in some dialects of the south and the northwest it resulted in idz (later iz), an i-glide having developed before the consonant while it was still palatal: *aucēllum* > *auzēl*, *jacēre* > *iazēz*, *licēre* > *lezēz*,

lūcēre > lūzer lūzir lūisir, *placēre* > plazer plaizer; *crūcem* > croz croiz crois (see §§ 63, 64), *dicere* > dīzer, *dicit* > ditz dis, *dūcit* > dūtz dūs, *facit* > fatz fas, *jacet* > iatz ias iays, *pacem* > patz pas pais, *placet* > platz plas plais, *verācem?* > verais, *vōcem* > vōtz vōiz.

1. *Aucel*, beside *auzel*, perhaps belongs to a dialect in which *c'* was not voiced after *au*: cf. C, 1. See § 80, Bc'.

2. *Iasser*, beside *iazzer*, seems to be due to *ias* < *jacet* and *iassa* < *jaceat*.

3. For *desma deima*, see S, 1.

4. In purely learned words, *c'* > *ts*: *actūm* > *aci*.

D, in a part of the west, remained unchanged; elsewhere, during the Vulgar Latin period, it opened into *ǝ*, which fell in the 11th century and earlier in parts of the north and east, and in the rest of the Provençal territory became *z* as early as the first part of the 12th century: *audire* > *auzir* *auir* *audir*,¹ *audit* > *au*,² *cadit* > *ca*, *crudēlem* > *cruzel* *cruel* *crudel*, *fīdat* > *fia*, **gaudo* > *gau*, *hōrrīda* > *oreza*, *hōrrīdum* > *ore*, *laudo* > *lau*, *alauda* > *lauzeta* *laudeta*, *rīdat* > *ria*, *tradēre* > *trazir* *trair* *tradir*, *vidēre* > *vezer* *ver* *veder*, *vīdet* > *ve*. When *ǝ* became contiguous to a following consonant (except final *s*), it changed to *i*: *divīdēre* > *divire*,³ *tradītōrem* > *traidōr* (which, influenced by *trair*, was pronounced *traïdōr*).⁴

1. *Crey*, beside *cre* < *crēdo*, follows *dei* < *dēbeo*, *vei* < *vīdeo*. *Mercey*, beside *merce* < *mercēdem*, shows the influence of *grey* < *grēgem*, *lei* < *lēgem*, and perhaps French *fei* < *fīdem*. Cf. β, (3).

2. *Grau* = *gra* < *gradum*, *niu* = *ni* < *nīdum* belong to the Catalan dialect, in which *ǝ* fell before the 8th century: *gradum* > *graðu* > *gra-u* > *grau*, the *u* being preserved through combining into a diphthong with the *a*.

¹ Also *auvir*, probably a northern local development of *auir*; and *aurir*, doubtless from *auzir* in a dialect that confuses *r* and *z*. See R, 2 and S, 2.

² Cf. § 63, (3).

³ The *i* from *ǝ* fuses with the preceding *i*.

⁴ *Trachor* has been influenced by *trach*, past participle of *traire*.

3. In purely learned words, *d* remained: *odi* < *ōdium*.

F is very rare (cf. § 59). The few examples appear to show that *f* (presumably in the 6th century or earlier) became *β*, and then developed like any other *β* (see *β*): *Stēphānum* > Esteve, *co(n)fortāre*? > **coβortar* > **coortar* > *conortar* (through the common use of the double forms, *con-*, *co-*), *gryphum* > griu, *raphānum* > rave rafe, **refusāre* > rehusar refusar, **prefūndum* (= *pro-*) > preon. Nevertheless, *cofin cōphīnum*, *defors* < *de fōris*, *grifo*, *profię* < *profēctum*, *rafe*, would seem to indicate that in some words, possibly less popular at the outset, *f* was retained.

1. In purely learned words, *f* was kept: *antifona*, *Caifas*, *philozophia*.

G, representing original *c* and *g*, had a varied development.¹ For the fall of *g* in some words in Vulgar Latin, see § 55, *G*.

(1) Before *a*, *g* remained in the greater part of the territory, but in the north and east it early became *y*; and this *y* was generally retained in the eastern dialects (often fusing with a preceding *i*), while in most of the northern it developed into *dž* (cf. *Y*): *amīca* > *amiga* *amiia* *amia*, *dīcam* > *diga* *dia*, *mīca* > *miga* *miia* *mia*,² *pacāre* > *pagar* *paiar*, *precāre* > *pregar* *preiar*; *castigāre* > *castigar* *castiar*, *legālem* > *leial* *leyal* *lial*, *ligāmen* > *liam*, *ligātum* > *legat* *liat*, *plaga* > *plaga* *plaia*, *regālem* > *reial*, *rūga* > *rūa*.³

(2) Before *o* and *u* (*ü*), *g* was preserved, except in a few words which (doubtless in Vulgar Latin times) lost it either in all or in many dialects: *acūtum* > *agüt*, *secūndum* > *seğon*, *secūrus* > *seğürs*; **a(u)gūrium* > *agür* *aür*, *a(u)gūstum* >

¹ Intervocalic *c* and *g* have been studied by H. Sabersky, *Zur provenzalischen Lautlehre*, 1888, pp. 8-19. ² *Mica* *micha* are from **micca* = *mīca* + *cīcum*.

³ Original Latin *g* seems more prone to fall than *g* < *c*.

agost¹ ahòst, proclitic *ēgo* > *eu*, **fagōttum* > *fagot*, *figūra* > *figūra*, *Hugōnem* > *Ugo*. For a *g* that becomes final or contiguous to final *s*, see § 63, (6): *amicus* > *amics amis*, *Auriacum* > *Auriac*, *cōcum* (= *cōquum*) > *coc*, *jocus* > *iocs*, *Ludovicum* > *Lozoic Lozoi*, *prēco* > *prēc*; *castigo* > *chastic chasti*.

(3) Between the last two vowels of a proparoxytone, *g*, early in the Provençal period, became *y*, which developed into *dž* before the literary epoch; cf. § 49, (4): *clēricum* > *clērg*, **coraticum* > *coratge*, *domīnicum* > *dimenge*, *manica* > *mania*, *mēdicum* > *mege*, *mōnāchum* > *monge*, **paraticum* > *paratge*, *viaticum* > *viatie*. In some dialects, however, the vowel of the penult, after liquids and nasals, fell too early for the *g* to become *y*: *clērgue*,² *esta(t)ga*, *mētgue*, *mongue*.

1. *Amiu*, *chastiu* belong to the dialect of Forez; so perhaps *fau* < *fa-gum*, *preu* < *prēco*. These forms indicate a very early fall of the *g* in the dialect to which they belong. Cf. § 51, 3.

2. In purely learned words, Latin *g* remains unchanged: *paganōrum* > *paganor*.

G' became *y* during the Vulgar Latin period (§ 55, *G*). See *Y*.

1. In purely learned words the letter *g* was retained, but it was doubtless pronounced *dž*: *astrologia*.

L remained: *colōrem* > *color*, *malc* > *mal*, **volēre* (= *velle*) > *voler*. Before final *s*, *l* became *u* in most dialects, in some as early as the 10th century: *malos* > *maus*, *talīs* > *taus*; *l* was written, however, long after *l* had been vocalized. Under the influence of forms in which *-ls* > *-us*, final *l* became *u* in the southwest and in some other regions: *Aprilem* > *abriu*. Cf. § 74, (2). *Au* < *-al* is common in William of Poitiers.

¹ For the reduction of *au* to *a* see § 41.

² *Clerc* is from **clēricum*, which must have existed contemporaneously with *clēricum*.

1. For Gascon $l > r$, see § 10.

2. *Orifan*, beside *olifan* < *elephantem*, is probably French.

L' will be considered, as *ly*, under Groups, § 73, *Ly*.

M remained: *amāre* > *amar*, *hōmo* > *om*, *timōrem* > *temor*.

1. Occasionally -*am* rhymes with -*an* (*afan*: *fam*, *portam*: *avan*); this seems to show an indistinct pronunciation of the final nasal in some dialects. Cf. *aven* = *avem* < *habēmu(s)* in the *Nobla Leyczon*. Cf. § 167, 2.

N remained: *bōnas* > *bonas*, *donāre* > *donar*, *lūna* > *lūna*. For *n* final or contiguous to final *s*, see § 63, (5): *fīnis* > *fis* *fins*, *panem* > *pa pan*.

1. In *canorgue*, *dimergue*, *morgue*, etc., beside *canonge*, *dimenge*, *monge*, etc., the *r* may be explained partly by dissimilation, partly by the analogy of *clergue* and of words with double forms (§ 87).

2. *Menhs meins*, beside regular *mens* < *mīnus*, show the influence of the alternative forms *genhs geins* and *gens* from *ingēnium* (see § 73, *Ny*).

3. *Iassey* (= *iasse*, the latter part of which may be from *exin* = *extnde*), *tey* (= *te* < *tēnet*), used by Marcabru, are doubtless due either to a mistaken imitation of conventional borderland forms (see § 25, 3) or to the analogy of *crei* = *cre* < *crēdo* (*crei* itself being due to the analogy of *dei* < *dēbeo*, *vei* < *vīdeo*).

N' will be considered, as *ny*, under Groups, § 73, *Ny*.

P, from the 4th to the 6th century, was voiced to *b*: *capīlum* > *cabel*, *riḡa* > *riba*, **sapēre* (= *sapēre*) > *saber*, *trepalium* > *trebalh*; *capit* > *cap* (§ 63), *sapis* > *saps*.

1. In some borderland dialects *p* > *v*, as in French: *saver*. *Evescat*, *evesque*, beside *bisbat*, *bisbe*, are French.

2. *Apud*, used as a proclitic, became for some reason in Vulgar Latin **apu*, which developed regularly into **abu* and, after the fall of intertonic vowels, *ab*. This *ab* assimilated its *b* more or less to a following consonant, becoming *ap* before voiceless consonants, *am* before nasals; *am*, used before dentals, became *an*: hence we have four forms, *ab*, *ap*, *am*, *an*. *Amò* perhaps developed first from *am* before *l*, as in *'am l'autre*; when used before a consonant with which *mb* did not readily combine, it expanded into *ambe*. See Elise Richter, *Zs.*, XXVI, 532; J. Huber, *Zs.*, XXX, 583.

3. In some dialects, apparently, p was not voiced after au: *sapwërunt* **sapwërunt* **sauwërunt* > *saubron saupron*. Cf. § 65, C, 1.

4. In purely learned words, p remains: *epifania*.

R remained: *amāra* > *amara*, *durāre* > *dūrar*, *ērat* > *ēra*. Final rs was reduced to s, in most dialects, during and after the literary period: *priōres* > *priors prios* (*Girart*); the reduction apparently began in Limousin as early as the 12th century (Bertran de Born rhymes *iōs* and *floirs*).

1. Final r began to fall in many dialects in the 14th century. At present it has disappeared all through the south and west: *amōrem* > *amou*, *florem* > *floü*.

2. In some dialects (especially those of Gard and Hérault) intervocalic r and z were confused, probably during the literary period: *gyrāre* > *gizar gisar*; conversely *audīre* > *auzir aurir*. Cf. *Revue des langues romanes*, XL, 49, 121.

S was voiced to z, probably from the 4th to the 6th century: *pausa* > *pausa*, *presētem* > *presen*; *rīsum* > *ris* (§ 63).

1. An s that became contiguous to n was changed, in a few dialects, to r: *almosna almorna*, *disnar dirnar*. In modern Limousin and some of the dialects of Dauphiné, Languedoc, and Gascony, s has disappeared before nasals: *asne ane*, *caresma carema*, *disnar dinar* (so *blasmar blamar*, *desma dema*); the fall began during the literary period. S before a consonant in many of the modern dialects, and final s in some, has become i: *asne aine*, *caresma careima* (so perhaps *desma deima*, *pruesme prueime*); some traces of this change occur in texts of the literary period. Cf. *Zs.*, XXIII, 413. *Isla*, in Limousin, became *ilha* (perhaps through *iyla*): cf. *Zs.*, XXIII, 414. Cf. § 78.

2. In some southeastern dialects intervocalic z after au has changed to v: *causa cauva* (so *auzir auvir*); possibly the *auvent* of the *Boeci*, v. 23, is to be connected with this.

T, from the 4th to the 6th century, was voiced to d: *amāta* > *amada*, *natālis* > *nadals*, *servitōrem* > *servidoz*; *habētis* > *avētz avēs avēt* (§§ 63, 64), *latus* > *latz las*, *natum* > *nat*. For a t which became contiguous to r (*amātor* > *amaire*), see § 52, (1), and § 70, Tr.

1. In some dialects of the south and southeast, final *t* fell shortly after the literary period: *amātum* > *amat ama*. — *Appoestat* is French.

2. *Tōtus*, in Gaul, became *tōttus* as early as the 4th century: hence Pr. *tota totas*. For *meteis* < *met-īpse* see § 131, (2).

3. *Espaza* (beside *espada*) < *spatha*, was perhaps influenced in its pronunciation by the spelling of the Latin word.¹ *Ez*, coming from *et* before a vowel, shows the influence of *az* (< *ad* + vowel) and *quez* (< *quid* + vowel). *Grazal*, 'grail', is perhaps a cross between **cratella* < *crater* and *gradale*, 'service-book'; so *grazalet*. *Grazir grazire* (cf. *agradar*) is perhaps altered from an earlier **grazar* < **gratiare*. *Mezeis* < *met-īpse*, *mezesmes*, *meesmes* (beside *medesmes*) < **met-īpsimus* have been subjected to the analogy of *ez* < *et* and *quez* < *quid* or of *īd īpsum*: § 131, (2).

4. In some dialects *tī* became a sound written *h*: *peccati* > *peccah*. See § 51, 1.

5. In purely learned words, *t* remains: *eternal*.

W will be considered, as gw, under Groups, § 72, βw.

X is a symbol for ks: see Groups, § 79, Ks.

Y, representing Latin dy, g', gy, j, and z (cf. § 55, G, Y; § 57, Z) had a varied development.

(1) When it became contiguous to a following consonant (§§ 45, 49), it changed to i: *adjūtāre* > *ayudāre* > *ay'dar* > *aidar*, *mediētātem* > *meitat*; *cōgitāre* > *cüidar*, *frigēre* > *frire*, *lęgēre* > *leyre*, *propagīnem* > *probaina*, *rigīda* > *reida*, **tragēre* > *traire*; *bajūlus* > *bailes*.

(2) When it remained intervocalic, it became dž in most of the territory, but in the northeast and parts of the north it was not changed:² *audiam* > *auia*, *in-ōdiare* > *enoiar*, *invidīa* > *enveja*, *invidiōsus* > *enveiōs enveyōs*, **gladia* > *glaya*, *mediānum* > *meian*, **pōdiāre* > *poiar*, *radiāre* > *raiar*, *sordidior* > *sorđeier*, *vīdeat* > *veja*; *fragīlem* > *fragel*; **exagiāre* > *assatiar* *essaia* *essayar*, *corrīgīa* > *correia* *correya*, *fagea* > *faia* *faya*,

¹ Possibly it comes from N. Greek σπάδην: cf. *Romanische Forschungen*, XV, 880.

² See *Zs.*, XXXII, 434.

regiōnem > reio; *die Jōvīs* > diiūs, *major* > maier, *pějor* > pieier, *pejōrem* > peior, *trōja* > trōia; *baptizāre* > bateiar. For a dž or a y that became final or contiguous to final s, see § 63, (1), (2): *audio* > auch, *in ōdio* > enuëg (plural enuëtz enuëg) enoi, *gaudium* > gauch, *gladium* > glai, *mēdium* > meğ mei, *hōdie* > oi, *pōdium* > pueg poi, *radium* > rai; *fūgit* > fūg fūi, *grēgem* > greğ, *lēgem* > leğ (pl. leitz) lei, *lēgit* > lieğ, *magis* mais,¹ *rēgem* > rei, *exagium* > essai; *pėjus* > pieis.

(3) Before accented e or i, y disappeared (doubtless in Vulgar Latin: § 55, G), except in some western dialects, where it became dž: *vagīna* > guaīna, **legīre* (= *lēgēre*) > legir,² *magīster* > maestre maiestre magestre, **pagē(n)sis* > paes pages, *regīna* > reīna, *sagitta* > saēta saiẽta sageta.

1. *Detz ditz* < *dīgītus* are irregular and unexplained. The word is irregular in some other Romance languages, notably in Italian. Cf. Gröber's *Grundriss*, I, p. 507.

2. *Glavi*, beside *glai* (and learned *glazi*) < *gladium*, is supposed by some to show the influence of Celtic *clādibo*. Cf. Körting; also H. Schuchardt, *Zs.*, XXV, 345.

3. *Messér* seems to be a contraction (due to proclitic use) of **messeyer* = *mes*, 'my', + **seyer*? < **sēyor* = *sēnior* (cf. A. Lindström, *L'analogie dans la déclinaison des substantifs latins en Gaule*, 1897-8, pp. 292-3).

4. In purely learned words, *di*, *g*, *gi*, *z* are retained, the *g* being pronounced presumably as dž, the *z* as z: *odi*, *fragil*, *regio*, *canonizar*.

MEDIAL GROUPS.

66. Medial groups may be conveniently classified as follows: — A. *Double Consonants* (1); B. *Groups of Dissimilar Consonants*: groups ending in l (2), groups ending in r (3), groups ending in w (4), groups ending in y (5), groups

¹ *Magis* was probably reduced to *mais* in Vulgar Latin.

² *Legir* may have been reconstructed on the basis of *leg* < *lēgit*.

beginning with l, m, n, r, or s and not ending in l, r, w, or y (6), all other groups (7). This order will be followed.¹

1. It should be noted that the prefixes *ad-*, *sub-* regularly assimilate their d or b to the following consonant: **ad-rîpâre* > *arribar*, *sub-venîre* > *sovenir*. *Sosrire*, *sosterrar*, *sostraire* show a substitution of prefix, due, no doubt, to the analogy of *sospirar*, *sostener*.

1. DOUBLE CONSONANTS.

67. In general, the double consonants became single, in the 9th or 10th century (perhaps earlier before the accent), but underwent no other change save those described in §§ 63, 64: *abbâtem* > *abat*, *siccum* > *sēc*, *rēddo* > *reț*, *affibulâre* > *afiblar*, *aggregâre* > *agregar*, *flamma* > *flama*, *pînnâ* > *pena*, *cappâ* > *capa*, *passum* > *pas*,² *mūtum* > *moț*, *advenîre* **avvenîre* > *avenir*.

(1) Cc before a, in the east and northeast, became tș; elsewhere, c; *būcca* > *boca bocha*, *vacca* > *vaca vacha*.

(2) Ll, in some southern dialects, became l'; elsewhere, l: *capillum* > *cabel cabelh*, *grillum* > *gril grilh*, *mantellum* > *mantel mantelh*, *villānus* > *vilas vilhas*. It is possible, however, that -lli regularly became l' in Limousin, while ll before other vowels was not palatalized: *caballum* > *caval*, *caballi* > *cavalh*; *illi* > *ilh*, *illōs* > *els*; this would account in part for the frequent occurrence of *lh* in the poems. So in some dialects -nni > n': *anni* > *anh*. Cf. § 51, 1. For final ls and l, see § 65, L: *illos* > *els eus*, *vallem* > *val vau*. For Gascon l > r, see § 10: *appellat* > *apela apera*.

(3) Rr, when intervocalic, seems generally to have been distinguished from r during the literary period and later: *cūr-*

¹ For the groups ending in y, cf. L. J. Juroszek, *Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der jotazierten Konsonanten in Frankreich*, in *Zs.*, XXVII, 550 ff. The groups ending in y and those containing c or g have been studied by H. Sabersky, *Zur provenzalischen Lautlehre*, 1888.

² S is generally written ss between vowels, to distinguish it from s = z.

rëre > *corre*, **corrüptiäre* > *corrossar*, *erräre* > *errar*, *tërra* > *terra*. Occasionally, however, *rr* is found in rhyme with *r*.

2. GROUPS ENDING IN L.

68. The groups of two consonants will be treated in alphabetical order. It will be seen that *bl*, *rl*, *sl* remained unchanged; *ml* developed a glide consonant between its two members; *pl*, *tl*, *βl* and *yl* respectively voiced, assimilated, and vocalized their first element; while *cl*, *gl* were fused into *l'*. For an explanation of this last phenomenon, see § 79.

Bl > *bl*: *nëbûla* > *nebla*, **oblitäre* > *oblidar*, *sabulônem* > *sablôn*.¹

βl > *ul*: *fabûla* **faβla* > *faula*, *sibiläre* **siβläre* > *siular*, *tabûla* **taβla* > *taula*.

Cl > *l'*: *genücûlum* > *genolh*, *öcûlum* > *olh*, *stîûla* **sîcla*² > *selha*, *vêtûla* *vêcla*² > *velha*. In learned words we find *gl*, *cl*: **e(c)clësia* > *gleiza*, *joculärem* > *ioglar*, *sacûlum* > *segle secle*.

C'l > *il*: *gracilem* > *graile*.

Dl > *dl*, which during the literary period became *ll* and then *l*: *mödûlum* > **mödle* *mölle*.

G'l > *l'*: *rëgûla* > *reilha*, **strigûla* > *estrelha*, *vîg(t)lat* > *velha*. *Leula* < *lëgûla*, *teula* < *tëgûla* are irregular: cf. *Archivio glottologico italiano*, XIII, 439, 459.

Ml > *mb'l*: *stimläre* > *semblar*, *trëmûlat* > *trëmbra*. In *sembrar* we find an *r* < *l* due perhaps to the analogy of *membrar* < *memoräre*. In *semel* gives *ensemble* *essem*s.

Pl > *bl*: *cöpûla* > *cöbla*, *düplum* > *döble*. Learned words have *pl*: *duplicar*.

Rl > *rl*: *Carölus* > *Carles*, *hōrolōgium* > *orloi*, **paraulare* > *parlar*.

¹ Most of the words in this category are semi-learned: cf. *fabla* and *faula*. See § 55, D. ² See § 47, (2).

Sl > sl: *ī(n)sūla* > isla. For *ilha*, see § 65, S, 1.

Tl > tl, which during the literary period became ll and then l: *rōtūlum* > rotle rolle, *spathūla* > espatla espalla espala. In really popular words tl had become cl in Vulgar Latin.¹

Yl > il: *bajūlus* > bailes. Cf. § 65, Y, (1).

69. A group of three consonants remained unchanged, except that double consonants became single: *ambulāre* > amblar, *implēre* > emplir, *avūncūlus* > avoncles, *circūlus* > cercles, *mascūlus* > mascles, **afflammāre* > aflamar, *inflāre* > enflar, *ūngūla* > onгла, *emplastrum* > emplastre.

1. *Selcle*, beside *cercle*, seems to show an assimilation of the r to the l of the next syllable. *Empastre*, beside *emplastre*, has been influenced by *pasta*. *Emblar* is probably from V. L. **imbolare* = *involare*.

3. GROUPS ENDING IN R.

70. The groups of two consonants will be treated in alphabetical order. It will be seen that br, gr, lr, nr generally remained unchanged; mr, sr, zr (and sometimes lr, nr) developed a glide consonant; cr, pr voiced, and βr, c'r, dr, tr, yr vocalized their first element.

Br > br, also ur, occasionally ir (through ür): *fabrum* > fabre faure², *fēbrem* > febre feure, *libra* > libra liura; *Octōbrem* > ochoyre. For brg, see § 80.

βr > ur, occasionally ir: *bibēre* > beure, débēr' hábeo > deβr'-áyo > deurái, **rōbōrem* > roure roire; **mōvēre* (= *mōvēre*) > moure, *plōvēre* > ploure.

Cr > gr: *acrem* > agre, *lacrima* > lagrema, *lūcrum* > logre, *macrum* > magre, *sacrāre* > sagnar, *sōcrum* > sogre.³ In late learned words we find cr: *secret*.

C'r > ir: *cōcere* > coire, *dīcere* > dire, *dūcere* > düire, *facere* > faire. Cf. § 49, (1).

Dr > ðr > ir: *divīdēre* > devire, *quadrum* > caire, vídēr' há-

¹ See § 47, (2). ² Also *faur*: cf. § 52, (1), 1. ³ *Sozer* < *sōcērum*: cf. § 42, (1).

bəo > veð'r-áyo > veirái. After au, apparently, ð simply disappeared: *claudere* > claure. Late learned words have dr: *quadrupedi*.

Gr, in popular words, was reduced to r in Vulgar Latin in parts of the Empire: *fra(g)rāre* > *frarar *flarar flazar, *intē(g)-rum* > enter entier, *nī(g)rum* > ner nier,¹ *pere(g)rīnum* > peler, *pī(g)rītia* > pereza; these forms occur in Gascony, Rouergue, and Limousin, but forms with gr are found in the same region. Elsewhere, in these same words, and everywhere, in more bookish words, gr remained in Vulgar Latin; this gr was kept in most of the Provençal territory, but was changed to ir in Dauphiné, Auvergne, and Languedoc: *fra-grāre* > flairar, *integrāre* > enteirar, *intēgrum* > entēgre enteir,² *nīgrēscere* > negrezir, *nīgrum* > negre neir,² *peregrīnum* > pelegri, *pīgrītia* > pigreza. Purely learned words have gr everywhere: *agricultura*.

G'r: see Yr.

Lr usually remained unaltered, but in some dialects became ldr³: *vālēr' hábeo* > valrai valdrai, **vólēr' hábeo* > volrai voldrai.

Mr > mbr: *camēra* > cambra, *memorāre* > membrar, *nūmērum* > nōmbre.

Nr usually remained unaltered, but in some dialects became ndr³: *cīnērem* > çenre çendre, *dīe Vēnēris* > divenres divendres, *in-gēnerāre* > engenrar, *Henricum* > Enric, *expōnere* > esponre espondre, **gēnērem* (= *gēnus*) > genre, *gēnērum* > genre gendre,

¹ For the vowel of *ner nier*, see § 25, 1, (e).

² *Enteir, neir* seem to have lost final e under the influence of numerous adjectives in *-er -ier -eir* < *-arium*.

³ In the modern dialects the d is probably commoner than it was in the old literary language; it occurs in Bordeaux, Languedoc, and Provence.

honorāre > onrar ondrar, *tenēr* ^h*habeo* > tenrai tendrai, *venir* ^h*habeo* > venrai vendrai.

Pr > br: *capra* > cabra, *cūperāre* > cobrar, *erīpēre* > erebre, *ōpēra* > obra, *pauper* > paubre, **pīperāta* > pebrada, *reīpēre* > recebre, *sūperāre* > sobrar, *sūper* > sobre. Purely learned words have pr: *caprin*. It is uncertain whether *paupre* (beside the usual *paubre*) is a Latinism or represents some dialect in which au prevented voicing.

Sr > str: **ēssēre* (= *ēsse*) > estre. For *ēsser*, see § 49, (2).

Tr > dr > ḡr > ir: *amātor* > amaire, *fratrem* > fraire, *latro* > laire, *mater* > maire, *ūtērem* > oire, *pētra* > peira, *Pētrus* > Peires, *petrōnem* > peiřo, *petrōsus* > peiřos, *pre(s)bītērum* (*Einf.*, § 140) > preveire, *servītor* > servire, *vītrum* > veire. Learned words have dr and tr: **poenītēre* > penedre (*penedir*), *impetrāre* > impetrar.

Yr > ir: *frīgēre* > frire, *lēgēre* > leyre.

Zr > zdr: *mīsērunt* + **mīssērunt* > mežron mešdron.

1. *Redebre* (beside *rezemtr*) < *redlmere* has apparently been influenced by *recebre*. The Burgundian *sor* for *sobre* comes from the prefix *sūr-* (*sūr-rīdēre*, etc.). *Perri* < **pētrīnum* is probably French.

71. A group of three consonants nearly always remained unchanged, except that double consonants became single: *ūmbra* > ombra, *arbōrem* > arbre, *sepūlcrum* > sepulcre, **canc(e)rōsus* > cancrōs, **addirēctum* > adreit, *fūndēre* > fōndre, *ardēre* > ardre, **offerīre* > offrir, **Hūngaria* > Ongria, *rūmpēre* > romprē, *apprēssum* > aprēs, *asprum* > aspre, *ūltra* > oltra, *intrāre* > entrar, *mo(n)strāre* > mostrar, *mīttēre* > meṭre. Lḡr and rg'r, however, regularly became ldr and rdr, and llr became ldr to the same extent as lr (q. v.): *absōlvēre* > absoldre (*absolvre* is probably a Latinism), *pūlvērem* > poldre; **dī-ērī gēre* > derdre; *tollēre* > tolre ṭoldre. Rmr became rbr

in *marmor* > marbre (also marme). Prendre often became penre (perhaps to distinguish it from pendre < *pēndēre*) through the analogy of genre gendre, etc.; the first r having been lost by dissimilation.

1. The four-consonant group sbtr is reduced to str in *prestre* < *prēs-býter*. *Prever* is perhaps a proclitic syncopation of a V. L. **preßiler*. Cf. § 78, 1.

4. GROUPS ENDING IN W.

72. This class includes not only Latin gu, qu, but all combinations of consonant + u, cf. § 40, (2). A w thus evolved seems to have developed like Germanic w (cf. § 56, W): it became gw (assimilating the preceding consonant, unless that consonant was a liquid or a nasal), and then was reduced, before the literary period, to g, cf. § 62, (2). Pw, however, had a quite different history, owing, on the one hand, to the affinity of its two labial elements, and, on the other, to the stability of the voiceless stop, which prevented the assimilation that we find in *βw* > ww.

1. G. Körting (*Zs.*, XXII, 258) would explain through the analogy of the perfects in *-cui* all other perfect forms which in Provençal have g and c corresponding to Latin *-ui* etc.

βw > ww > gw > g: *habuíssem* > agues, *dēbuit* > dec (§ 63); **co(g)nōvuit* (cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Gram.*, II, p. 357) > conoc, **crevuísti* > creguist, **movuísset* > mogues, **plōvuit* > ploc. We seem to have the same combination in Germanic *treuwa* > tregua trega (*trega* is probably French).

1. The diphthong of *aic* = *habuī* is probably not a phonetic development. The first and third persons of the preterit, *aic* and *ac* (< *habuit*), have been differentiated after the pattern of the present — *ai* and *a*.

Dw > gw > g: **sēduit* > sec.

1. *Venoa* < *vidua* must be an early learned word: *veuva* is perhaps from *vena* < *veuða* < *veðua*.

Kw > gw > g: *antīqua* > antiga, *ēqua* > ēga, *æquālem* > egal (*engal* has received through a mistake in etymology the prefix *en-* or *e-* < *in-*), *nōcuit* > nōc, *placūistī* > plaguist, **sēquēre* (= *sēqui*) > segre, **sequire* > seguir, *tacūissem* > tagues.

1. Several words show a different development: cf. *Ltblt.*, XXIV, 335; *Zs.*, XXVIII, 381. In *aqua* (or *acqua*) and *aquila* (or **acquīa*) the first consonant became, for some reason, a spirant, which later changed to i: *aḡwa* > aiwa > aigua aiga, *áḡwila* > áiwila > áigwila > aigla. So *aig-lentina*. These same words show irregularities in other languages. Perhaps the dialect form *eigal* (Auvergne, Arles) for *egal* is to be explained in the same way; but the *ei* here may be analogical.

2. In several words kw was reduced to c (or c̃) in Vulgar Latin: *coquēre* (+ *cōcus*) > *cōcēre* > cozer, *tōrquēre* **tōrquēre* (+ **tōrco* **tōrcunt*) > **tōrcēre* > torser. Cf. § 55, W.

Lw > lgw > lg: *caluit* > calc, **toluistī* > tolgust, *valuisssem* > valgues, *vōluērunt* (§ 16, 2) > volgron.

Nw, ngw, nk w > ngw > ng: *tēnuīt* > tenc, **venuissset* > vengues; *sanguem* > sanc; *cīnque* (= *quinque*) > cinc.

1. *Tēuns* < *tēnuīs* is probably a learned word; the transposition of u and n may have been due originally to a misreading of the letters. *Ia-nuer*, *manual*, etc. are learned. *Maneira* is apparently from a Vulgar Latin **man(u)aria* from *manuarius*. For *enquerre* < *inquārēre*, see § 59.

2. *Exstīnguēre* (+ **exstīngo* **exstīngunt*) > **estīngēre* > estenher.

Pw > upw > up > ub: *sapūisset* > saubes, *recīpuit* > receup.

1. *Saupes* apparently belongs to a dialect in which au prevented voicing. Cf. § 65, P, 3.

Rw > rgw > rg: *mēruit* > merc.

Sw seems to have been reduced early to s in *consuetūdīnem* **costūmen* > costūm (costūma). *Cōnsūo* apparently became **cōsio*, whence an infinitive **cōsēre* or **cosīre* (Pr. cozer, cosir).

Tw > dw > gw > g: *pōtuit* > pōc.

1. *Ba(t)uo*, *qua(t)tuor* were reduced to *batto*, **quattor* in Vulgar Latin: Pr. *bat*, *quatre*.

5. GROUPS ENDING IN Y.

73. This class contains: 1st, combinations of consonant + y < e or i, cf. § 40, (2); 2d, consonant + g' > y (§ 55, G), the g' having been in some cases always contiguous to the preceding consonant, in others originally separated from it by a vowel; 3d, consonant + g > y, the g representing an original c or g between the last two vowels of a proparoxytone, cf. § 65, G, (3). It does not include dy and gy, which early became y: see § 65, Y. See § 63, (1). The groups will be considered in alphabetical order:—

Bry > bry in *ebriacum* > ebriac (*iure* is probably French).

By was early reduced to y in *habeo habeam* etc. and *dēbeo dēbeam* etc., partly, no doubt, through the proclitic use of these words, partly under the influence of *audio* > **auyo audiam* > **auya* and *video* > **veyo vīdeam* > **veya*; this y, like any other medial y (§ 65, Y), became dž or remained y: ai (for some reason there seems to have been no form **ach*), aia; dei dēch, deia. Aside from these words, βy > udž and uy apparently in the north; elsewhere uy, by, vy—uy prevailing in the west, by and vy in the south and east. When the y became final, it changed to i, which, after a consonant, was syllabic. Ex.: *abbrēviat* > abreūia, **aggrēviat* > agreūia, *allēviat* > aleūia, *aviōlum* > aviol aiol, *cavēa* > gabia cauia, *labia* > lavia-s, **leviarius* > leugiērs, **rabiam* (= *rabiem*) > rabia rauia,¹ **rabiāre* > rabiār, *rabiōsus* > rabiōs rauīōs, *rū-beum* > roğ roi,² **sabium* > savi sabi, *atavia* > tavia, *vidū-vium* > vezoiğ bedoi.² In purely learned words, Latin *bi*, *vi*, etc., are kept: *abiurament*, *fluvial*. *Brēvio* > brey: cf. § 65, β, 3.

Cc'y: see C'y.

¹ *Ratie* is perhaps French.

² After o, the u disappears.

Cly > l': *coclearium* > cuilhier.

Cty > is: *factionem* > faisso, *lectionem* > leisso, *suspectionem* > sospesisso. In purely learned words we find the spellings *cti*, *cci*, which doubtless indicate ktsy or ksy: *electio*, *accio*. Cf. Ssy.

C'y, cc'y, kwy > ts; this ts, when it remained medial, was reduced, before and during the literary period, to s: *braccia* brassa, *bracchium* > bratz bras (§ 64), *faciam* > faza fassa, *faciem* > fatz fas, *glaciem* > glatz glas¹, *laqueāre* > lassar, *laqueum* > latz las, **pēcia* > pessa, *placeam* > plassa. Learned words have *zi* and *ci*, doubtless pronounced at first dzi, tsi, later zi, si (cf. A. Horning, *Zs.*, XXIV, 545; XXV, 736): *iuzizi iudici*, *edifici*, *Grecia*. Cf. Pty.

D-g > dž: *iudico* > iütge, *mēdicum* > mege, **sēdicum* > seie².

Dy: see § 55, Y and § 65, Y.

Gdy: see § 80, Gd.

Gy: see § 55, Y and § 65, Y.

Kwy: see Cy.

Lc'y > lts > uts > us: *calceāre* > caussar. Cf. Lty. See § 74, (2).

Lg' apparently became ldz udz uz in **fūlgērem* (= *fūlgur*) > fouser.

Ll-g' > l' in *cōlligit* > cuelh. Cf. Ly.

Lly: see Ly.

Lny > n': *balneum* > banh.

Lty > lts > uts > us: **altiāre* > auçar aussar. Cf. Lc'y. See § 74, (2).

¹ *Glai* is due perhaps to the analogy of *ney* (§ 65, β, 3), perhaps to such double forms as *fatz fai* = *facit*.

² *Seti* (pronounced with two syllables) seems to be an improperly constructed post-verbal noun from *assetiar*. For *metgue*, etc., see § 65, G, (3).

Lvy > lby > uby in *salvia* > saubia (Gascon).

Ly, lly > l': *constlium* > cosselh, *filium* > filh, *filia* > filha, *nüllli* + vowel > nülh. Learned words have *li*: *familiarmens*. *Lili liri lire* < *lilium* are doubtless learned; *lis* is French.

Mby > mby, mdž, and ndž; mdž being the usual form in the literary language: *cambiāre* > camiar caniar cambiar.

Mmy > my, mdž, and ndž: *commeātus* > comiatz coniatz.

Mny > n' in Limousin and in the extreme east and south-west, elsewhere ndž: *somniāre* > sonhar soniar. *Somni*, beside *suenh sonhe*, is learned.

Mply > mply in *ampliāre* > ampliar, probably learned.

My > my and n': *simia* > simia, *vindēmia* > vendēmia vendanha.

Nc'y > nts > ns: **Francia* > Fransa. Cf. Nty.

Nd-g > ndž: **pēndicat* > penia, *vīndico* > venie. Similarly *mandūcāre* > **mandugare manduyare mandyare* > maniar¹.

Ndy > n': **Burgūndia* > Borgonha, *verecūndia* > vergonha.

N-g > ndž: **excommūnīco* (= *excommūnīco*) > escomenie¹, *mōnāchum* > monie.

Ng' > n' and ndž: *jūngēre* > ionher ionger, *ūngēre* > onher onger, *plangēre* > planher planger, *pūngēre* > ponher, ponger. *Angel* is probably learned.

Ng'y > ndž: *spōngia* > esponia.

Nny > n': *stanneum* > estanh.

Nty > nts > ns: *cantiōnem* > canso, *comin(i)tiāre* > cornen-sar, *sperantia* > esperansa. Purely learned words have *nti*: *essentia*. Cf. Nc'y.

Ny > n': *extraneum* > estranh, *tēneo* > tenh, *vēniat* > venha. Before or during the literary period final n' or n's lost its

¹ Apparently *maniar*, *escomeniar* developed in the region where g became y before a: cf. § 65, G, (1).

palatal quality in many dialects: *ingēnium* > genh gen. If *estraniar* comes from *extraneāre* (and not from **extranicāre*), it must be a word of later adoption; so *estrangier*. In *sotran* < *subterraneum* there is probably a change of suffix.

Pry probably became regularly bry: *capreōlum* > *cabriol cabirol (cabirol seems to be a new formation from *cabra*). *Coyre* <? *cūpreum* is unexplained.

Pty > ts, which, when it remained medial, was reduced, before and during the literary period, to s: **captiāre* > cassar, **corrūptiāre* > corrossar, *nēptia* > nēssa, **nōptias* (§ 38, 2) > nōssas. Cf. C'y.

Py remained py in the west and a part of the south, and elsewhere became ptš, later tš: *apium* > ache api, **apprōpiat* (< *prōpe*) > aprōcha aprōcha aprōpia, *sapiam* > sapcha sacha sapia, *sapiēntem* > sachent sapient, *sēpia* > sēpia. *Asabentar* is from *saben*. *Piion* < *pipiōnem* is French. Learned words have *pi*: *copia*; but *mancipium* > *mancip massip*.

Rc'y > rts (> rs?): *urceōlum* (*Zs.*, XXVI, 668) > orzōl.

Rdy > rdz: **dis-tardiat* > destarza. *Ordi* = *hördeum* is perhaps from the genitive *hördei*, as in *tres modii hordei*, etc.

R-g > rdž: *clēricus* > cleries.

Rg' > rdž and rdz (> rz): *argēntum* > argen, **burgē(n)sis* > borgeş borzeş (also *borgues*, under the influence of *borc*), **dē-ērigit* > ders, **dē-ēr(i)gēre* > derzer (also *derdre*: § 71), *sūrgēre* > sorger sorzer, *sūrgit* > sōrtz.

Rny > rn': **Arvērnium* > Alvernhe.

Rr-g > rdž: **carricat* > caria.

Rry > ir: *porrum* > **porreum* > poyre; but **horrearium*? > orgier (cf. Körtling).

Rt-g > rdž and rts (> rs): **excōrticat* > escōria escōrsa.

Rty > rts > rs: **fortiäre* > forsar, *lërtium* > terz ters. *Convercio* is learned.

Rvy > rvy rby: **cërvia* > cervia cerbia.

Ry > r', which developed into ir when it remained medial, but became r at the end of a word¹: **exclariäre* > esclairar, **donatōria* > donadoira, **fëria* > feïra feïra, *fëriat* > feïra, *ma-tëria* > madeïra, **mōriat* > moïra, *primaria* > premeïra pre-mieïra (§ 23, 1), **punitōria* > punidoïra, *varia* > vaira, *variäre* > vairar; **a(u)gūrium* > aür, *cōrium* > cuër, **donatōrium* > donadoïr, *impërium* > empiër, *mīnistërium* > mestier, **mōrio* > moïr muër, *monastërium* > mostier (§ 45, 3), *primarius* > pre-mieïr, **punitōrius* > punidoïr. If the ry is preceded by au, it apparently remains unchanged: *Auriācum* > Auriac (Zs., XXVII, 559). Learned words have ri: *bori* < *ebōreum*, *contrari*.

1. Adjectives in -er (-ier) and -or, coming from -arium and -ōrium, regularly have feminines in -eira (-ieira) and -oira. By the analogy of the masculine, there is a feminine in -era in parts of the west; by the analogy of the feminine, there is a masculine in -eir in Auvergne. The i of *vair* probably comes from the feminine *vaira* and from the verb *vairar*. The noun *feïra* sometimes becomes *fiera* like a feminine adjective.

Sc'y: see Ssy.

Ssy, sc'y, sty > s', which in most of the territory became is, but in the west and the extreme east developed into i(t)š and (t)š: **bassiäre* > baissar baichar bachar, **angüstia* > engoïssa, **ingrössiat* > engrueïssa, *fascia* > faïssa, **grassiäre* > graïssa, *pōstea* > pueïssas pueih püch, *üstium* > üis.

Sty: see Ssy.

Sy > z', which in most of the territory became iz, but in parts of the northeast, north, and west developed into i(d)ž and (d)ž, and in some scattered dialects gave y and z: *ba-*

¹ The r remained palatal long enough to cause breaking: cf. §§ 30, 37.

sium > bais bai (§ 63), *basiare* > baisar baiar baiar bayar basar, *quasi* + vowel > cais quaish, *camisia* (cf. *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie*, XII, 265) > camiza, *cerēsea* (*Einf.*, § 103) > cireiza cireiia cerieya cerieza, *ma(n)sionem* > mai-son maiion maiou mayo, *occasionem* > ochaizo, *pre(hen)sionem* > preiso (cf. *enpreyona*, 'imprisons'), *quid se* + vowel > queis, Ger. *sazjan* > saisir, *to(n)sionem* > toiso.

T-g > dz: **coraticum* > corage, **paraticum* > parage, *viaticum* > viatie. For *messatgue*, etc., see § 65, (3).

Try apparently became ir: *atrium?* > aire, *arbitrium* > albire.

Tty > ts > s: **plattēa* > plassa.

Ty > apparently t' > d' > generally d'z,¹ which in most of the west and north. became dz, but in the south and east developed into idz; dz and idz, when they remained medial, were reduced, before and during the literary period, to z and iz: **alitia* > alteza, **bellitia* > beleza, *malitia* > maleza, *pigritia* > pereza, **pretiat* > preza, **rikitia* > riqueza; *palatium* > palatz palaitz palais (§ 64), *pūteum* > potz pūis, *prētium* > pretz pres, *solatium* > solatz solas; *potiōnem* > pozon poizon, **pretiāre* > prezar, *ratiōnem* > razō raizon, *s(t)atiōnem* > sazo saizon. The forms without i prevail in the literary language, and in words in which the dz comes after the accent (especially in the ending -eza) they seem to have encroached largely upon the ground of the others.² According to some philologists, the development of ty differed according to its position before or after the accent: for a brief bibliography of the discussion,

¹ These sounds lost their palatal quality too early to cause breaking: cf. §§ 30, 37. Cf. *Einf.*, § 133.

² *Palaitz*, however, is used by Marcabru, A. Daniel, and P. Vidal. *Poison* occurs in *Flamenca* and in modern Limousin (beside *pozon*), *raizo* is found in the *Boeci* and other texts.

see *Zs.*, XXVII, 689. In learned words we find *zi*, *ci*, *çi*, *ti*: *estimatio*, *iustizia* — *icia* — *ecia* — *ecia*, *natio nacio*, *negoci*, *servizi* — *ici* (cf. A. Horning, *Zs.*, XXIV, 545, XXV, 736, XXXI, 200).

1. *Palai* (beside *palatz* — *aitz* — *ais*) may have been made from *palais* (used by Bertran de Born and in *Flamenca*) by dropping the *s* which was regarded as an inflectional ending. It was perhaps influenced by such words as *bais bai*: cf. *Sy*. A clerical Latin **palasium*, however, would account, not only for *palai palais*, but also for French *palais* and for Italian *palagio*.

2. Modern *poijon* (Alps) and *rajo* (Limousin) have perhaps followed the analogy of such words as *maison maijon majon*: cf. *Sy*.

3. *Escoisson* < *excūtiunt* seems to follow **escois* < *excūtio*. It was perhaps influenced by *conoisson* < *co(g)nōscunt*.

4. Some of the modern western dialects have *d* in *radon*, *sadon*, etc. = *razo*, *sazo*, etc.

6. GROUPS BEGINNING WITH L, M, N, R, OR S.

74. (1) Of the groups beginning with *l* (and not ending in *l*, *r*, *w*, or *y*), the following remained unchanged (except that *c* before *a* became *tš* in the north and northwest).—*lb*, *lc* (and *llc*), *lg* (*llg*), *lm*, *lp*, *lv*: *alba* > *alba*; *calcāre* > *calcar*, *collocāre* **colcāre* > *colcar* (—*char*); *collocare* **collogare* **colgare* > *colgar*; *hēlm* > *ēlm*, *ūlmum* > *ōlm*; *cōlāphum* **cōlpum* > *colp* (*κόλπος* > *golfe* is unexplained); *calvum* > *calv* (= *calf*?), *salvāre* > *salvar*. *Ld*, *ls* (*lls*), *lt* (*llt*) were regularly unchanged except for the vocalization of the *l*: see below. *Lc'* (*llc'*) became *lts*, and then the *l* was vocalized: see below. *Lcp* became *lp* in *calce pīsāre* > *calpisar*. *Lg'*, *llg'*, have been treated in § 73. *Lvs*, *lvt* became *ls*, *lt*, and then the *l* was vocalized: see below.

(2) *L* became *u* before the dental consonants *d*, *s*, *t* in most of the dialects. The vocalization seems to have begun in the 8th century and to have progressed through the literary

period and later. It is difficult to trace it, as *l* long continued to be written for *u*. In modern Provençal, *ls* remains in Languedoc, *lt* in Rouergue. *Auça* occurs in the *Boeci*. The *l* was probably first retracted, to differentiate it from the following dental; and then this velar *l* was opened into *u*. Ex.: *cal(i)daria* > *caudiera*, *cal(i)dum* > *caut*, *söl(i)dum* > *solt sòut*; *falsum* > *fals faus*, *malos* > *mals maus*, *valles* > *vals vaus*; **fallita* > *fauta*, *mūltum* > *molt mout*, **tōllitum* > *tolt tout*; *dūlcem* > *dōlz doutz dous*, *pōllicem* > *poutz*, *salicem* > *sautz*; *calvus* > **cals caus*, **vōlvita* > *vōlta vouta*. So **alliāt* > *auça aussa*, **calceare* > *cauçar caussar*: cf. § 73, Lc'y, Lty. In *dos* (= *dous*) and *mot* (= *mout*) the *o* seems to have absorbed the *u*. Cf. § 65, L.

1. The final *t* of *molt* seems to have been lost sometimes before a consonant: hence *mul*, which, influenced by *man*, 'many', became *mon*.

2. *Altretal* (also *autretal*) became *atretal* by dissimilation; hence we have also *atressi* for *altressi* (*autressi*). *Aital*, *aitan* seem to be made up of *tal*, *tan* with the first syllable of *aissi* (< *ac sic*), regarded as a prefix meaning 'just'.

3. *Pallidus* > *palles* (through the feminine **páleza*).

4. *Fouzer* is from *fülger* or **fülgerem* = *fülgur*.

75. Of the groups beginning with *m* (and not ending in *l*, *r*, *w*, or *y*), the following usually remained unchanged — **mb**, **md**, **mf**, **mp**, **ms**, **mt**: *gamba* > *gamba* (if *bobānsa* is from *βόμβος*, it is irregular); **semitarium* **semidarium* > *semdièr*; *triumphāre* > *triomfar*; *lampas* **lampa* > *lampa*; **camisile?* > *camsil* (dialectically *cansil*; so *Samson*, *Sanso*); *cōmitem* > *comte* (dialectically *cōnte*). For **mbd** in *ambo dños* see § 111, 2. **Mn** in the literary language generally remained unchanged (often spelled *mpn*), but in some dialects it was assimilated into *nn*, which was locally simplified into *n*: *dōmīna* *dōmna* > *dompna* *domna* *donna* *dona*, *damnāre* > *dampnar*

damnar dannar danar, *fēmīna* **fēmna* > *femna* *fenna* (*feme* is from *fēmēna* < *fēmīna*),¹ *hōmīnem* **hōmnem* > *omne* (*ome* is from **ōmene* < *hōmīnem*).¹ When final, it regularly became *n*, occasionally *m*: *damnum* > *dan*, *somnum* > *son som*.² **Mnc'** > *ndz nz* in **domnicilla* > *donzela*. **Mpt mt** > *mt*, dialectically *nt*: *computāre* > *comtar contar*, *templāre* > *temptar tentar*; *domitāre* > *domptar*.³

76. (1) Of the groups beginning with *n* (and not ending in *l*, *r*, *w*, or *y*), the following generally remained unchanged (except that *c*, *g* before *a* became *tš*, *dž* in the north and northeast)—**nc**, **nd**, **ng**, **nm**, **nt**: *hanka* > *anca*, *blank*—> *blanc* (—*ca* —*cha*), *franko* > *franc* (—*ca* —*cha*); *mandāre* > *mandar*, *ūnda* > *onda*; *lōngum* > *lonc* (—*ga* —*ia*), *plango* > *planc*, *rīng* > *renc*; *anīma* > *anma* (also, by dissimilation, *arma*); *sentīre* > *sentir*. For final **nd**, **nt**, see (2) below. **Nc'** > *nts ns*: **francē(n)sis* > *frances*, *manċpium* > *mansip* (also *massip*: cf. **ns** below), *vīncere* > *vencer venser*. **Nct** became in different dialects *n'* int *nt ntš*: *jūnctum* > *ionh ioint iont ionch*, *ūnctūra* > *onchūra*, **pīnctūra* > *peintūra penchūra*, *planctum* > *planh planch*, *sanctum* > *sanh saint sant*. **Ndc'** became, in different dialects, *ndz* (later *nz*), *nts*, *ndž*: *quīndēcim* > *quinze quintze quinge*. **Ndt** > *nd nt*: **rendīta* > *renda renta*. **Nf** remained in some dialects, while in others it became *ff*, then *f*: *confūndit* > *confon cofon*, *infanlem* > *enfant effant efant*, *infēnum* > *enfern efern*. **Ng** > *ng*: *mōnāchum* **mon'gu* > *mongue* (*manċum* > *margue* by dissimilation). **Ns**, in learned words and new formations (see § 55, N), remained in most dialects, while in others (especially those of the centre) it became *ss*, then *s*: *consilium* > *conselh cosselh*, *in*

¹ Cf. § 49, (3).

² *Daun*, etc., are Gascon.

³ Such forms as *amda* < *amīta*, *comde conde* < *compūtum*, show a late fall of the medial vowel.

simul > ensem essem, **insignāre* > ensenhar essenhar, *pensāre* > pensar pessar, *sensus* > sens; for *final* ns, see § 63, (5). *Ntc'* > nts ns in *pantilem* > pansa. *Nv* remained in some dialects, while in others it became vv, then v: *convenire* > convenir covenir. *Ndc*, *ndg*, *n-g*, *ng'* have been treated under § 73.

(2) Final *nd* remained as nt in the eastern and central part of the territory, became n in the west and a part of Limousin, and disappeared altogether in a part of Languedoc and Gascony: *amando* > aman, *descendit* > deissen, *grandem* > grant gran gra, *mündum* > mont mon, *vēdit* > vent ben, *profundum* > preon, *quando* > quant quan. Final *nt* remained in most of the territory, but in a part of Languedoc and Gascony became n or disappeared: *fōntem* > font fon fo, *mōntem* > mont mon, *quantum* > quant quan, *vēntum* > vent bent be.

For *efanh*, *parenh*, *monh* < *mündi*, etc., see § 51, 1.

77. Of the groups beginning with r (and not ending in l, r, w, or y), the following remained unchanged (except that c, g before a became tš, dž in the north and northeast) — *rb*, *rc*, *rd*, *rf*, *rg*, *rm*, *rn*, *rp*, *rs*, *rt*, *rv*: *barba* > barba, *cōrbum* > corp; *barca* > barca, *cīrcāre* > cercar, *clēricum* **clērcum* > clerc, *fūrca* > força forcha, *mercātum* > mercat; *ardētem* > arden, **perdūtum* > perdüt, *vīr(i)dem* > vert; *ōrphānum* > orfe; **carricāre* **carrigāre* **cargāre* > cargar cariar, *largum* > larc (-ga -ia), *sērica* **sēr'ga* > serga; *ērēmum* > erm, *fōrma* > forma; *hibērnum* > ivern, *tabērna* > taverna, *tornāre* > tornar; *wērpan* > guerpir; *arsum* > ars, *cūrsum* > cors (for *vērsus* > ves, see § 55, R); *artem* > art, *fōrtētem* > fort; *servīre* > servir. For *final* *rn*, *rs*, see § 63, (5); § 65, R. *Rc'* > rts rs: *parcēre* > parcer, *parcit* > partz, **tōrcēre* > torser. *Rdc'* became, in different dialects, *rdz* (later *rz*), *rts*, *rdž*: *quatuōrdēcim* **quattōrdēcim* > quatorze quatorze quatorge. *Rdg* before a > rg, *rdž*: *vīridi-*

cantem **vīrdigantem* > verguan verian. *Rdt* > *rd*: *perdīta* > *perda*. *Rps* > *rs*: **escarp̄sus* (= *excerptus*) > *escars*. *Rtm* > *rtm* or *rm*: *fōrti mēnte* > *fortmen formen*. For *rg'* see § 73.

78. Of the groups beginning with *s* (and not ending in *l*, *r*, *w*, or *y*), the following usually remained unchanged through the literary period (except that *c* before *a* became *tš* in the north and northeast) — *sc*, *sm* (*ssm*), *sn*, *sp*, *st*: **būscum* (? = *būxum*)? > *bōsc*, **lūscum* > *lōsc*, *pascha* > *pasca pascha*, *pērsica pēssica* **pēscā* > *peşca*, *piscātor* > *pescaire*, *piscarium* > *pesquier peschier*, *prēscan* **trescāre* > *trescar*; *ex-mittēre* **esmittēre* (§ 55, X) > *esmetre*, *pēssimus* > *peşmes*; *eleemōsyna* > *almoşna*, *asīnum* > *asne*; *expōnēre* **espōnēre* > *esponre*, *ga-spildjan*? > *guespilhar*; *prapōsitum* > *prebost*, *tristem* > *trist*. For final *scs*, *sts*, see 2 below. *Sc'* became, in most of the territory, *is*; in parts of the north and northeast, *s*; in the west and the extreme east, *i(t)š* and *(t)š* (cf. § 73, *Ssy*): *co(g)nōscēre* > *conōisser*, *crēscēre* > *creïsser*, *ex-cērnēre* **escērnēre* > *eissernir*, **ex-cerebellāre* **es-* > *esservelar*, *fascem* > *fais*, *nascēre* > *naisser nasser naicher nacher*, *piscem* > *peis peich pech*. *Scb* became *sb* in *episcōpus* **ebiscobus* > *bisbes* (also *bispes* and *ebesques*). *Spm* became *sm* in *blasphemāre* > *blasmar*. *Spt* > *st*: *hōspitem* > *oste* (also *osde*). *Stg* became *sg* and *sdž* in *domesticāre* **-gāre* > *domesgar domesiar*. *Stm* became *sm* in *asthma* > *asma*. For the later history of the *s* in all these groups, see § 65, *S*, 1.

1. *Prēsbȳter* became regularly *prestre*: § 71, 1. But beside *prēsbȳter* there existed in Vulgar Latin *prebiter* (*Einf.*, § 140), the syllable *pres-* being replaced by the Latin prefix *præ-* or *pre-*, through the analogy of such words as *prabitor*, *prapostitus*. From the accusative *prebīlterum* we have regularly *preveire*. *Preire* is a cross between *prestre* and *preveire*.

2. Final *sts*, in nearly all the territory, was reduced to *ts*: *finistis* > *finitz*, *hōstis* > *oz* (accusative *ost*), *tristes* > *tritz* (sg. *trist*); but *sts* was kept in *ęstz* < *istos* and in its derivative *aquestz*. Similarly final *scs* was

generally reduced to *cs*: **bīscus*? > (bōscs) bōcs (accusative bōsc), *quīs-quis* > quēcs.

3. *Conois* etc. < *co(g)nōsco* etc. (beside *conosc* etc.) are doubtless due to the second and third persons (*conoisses conois* etc.). Some of the modern eastern dialects have *-isso* corresponding to *-sca* (*freisso* etc.): this seems to indicate an old metathesis of *sc* in that region.

7. MISCELLANEOUS GROUPS.

79. Of the groups not yet discussed, the most important are *ct*, *gd*, *gn*, *ks*, which show palatalization. It is now generally assumed that the Celts, who had turned their native *ct* into *xt*, pronounced Latin *ct* in the same way when they learned Latin (Meyer-Lübke, *Einf.*, § 186), and likewise substituted *xs* for *ks* (Meyer-Lübke, *Grām.*, I, § 650), and probably *xd*, *xn* for *gd*, *gn*. The *x* was attracted into a palatal spirant by the following dental, and the dental itself was then palatalized. Most philologists explain the development of *cl*, *gl* into *l'* (cf. § 68) in a similar way. Inasmuch as Indo-European *pt* had also been changed to *xt* in Celtic, it is not unlikely that the Celts substituted *xt*, *xs* for Latin *pt*, *ps* in a few words; the *x* replacing *p* may sometimes have been rounded.

1. To account for palatalization in the non-Celtic parts of southern Gaul, we may assume either that the spirant pronunciation spread from the Celtic to the other regions, or that in the latter the palatalization came about simply through the mutual attraction of the guttural and the dental.

80. The groups will now be discussed in alphabetical order: —

Bc > (**pc*), *ptš* (before *a*): **reprüb(i)cat* > *reprüpcha*.

Brg > *rg* or *urg* in *fabrica* **fabrīga* > *farga faurga*. Cf. § 70, *Br*.

Bs > *bs* in the learned words *absens*, *absensa*.

Bsc > *sc*: *obscurus* > *escürs*.

Bst > st: *sūbstat* > soṣta.

Bt > bt, t: *subtīlem* > sobtil sotil. See also βt below.

Bts > ts: *sūbtus* > soṣt.

βc > uc: **avīca* **aβca* > auca.

βc' > udz or uts, later uz, us: *avicellum* **aβcellu* > aužel auçel. Cf. § 65, C', 1.

βd > ud, in the west bd: *dēbitum* **dēβīdu* **deβdu* > deude, *mal'habītum* **malaβīdu* **malaβdu* > malaude; *cīvitātem* **cīβīdāde* **cīβdad* > cibdat. Cf. βt below.

βt > ut, in the west pt: *dēbitum* **dēβtu* > deute depte, *dūbito* **dūβto* > dōute dopte, *mal'habītum* **malaβtu* > malaute malapte; *cīvitātem* **cīβtate* > ciutat (later cieutat: § 44, 2) ciptat, **mōvīta* **mōβta* > mōuta, **remōvītum* ? > remoute (Girart). *Depte*, *malapte* are not confined to the west (modern Limousin *dete*, Dauphiné *malate*); they come also from Latin *dēb'tum*, *mal'hab'tum*: cf. § 47, (3).

Cc' > its > is; in the west and the extreme east it̃s or t̃s: *ec'hīc* > eici eissi eichi achi.

Cm > cm, m: **Jācomus* > Iacmes Iames (also, perhaps borrowed, Iaimes, Iaumes).

C'm > im or sm: *dēcīmum* > deime deśme, *facīmu(s)* > faim. Cf. § 52, (4).

Ct > t̃s in most of the territory; but in the north and northeast, and in the southwest, it became, as in French, it: *coctāre* > cochar coitar, *dīctum* > dig dit, *factum* > fag fait, *lacte* > lag lait, *lēctum* > lieg leit, *lūcta* > lūcha, *nōctem* > nuēg nuēit, *pactum-a* > pacha, *pēctus* > piēg peitz, *ōcto* > uēich¹ uēit. The ct of (e-)jectāre > getar does not show popular treatment; the word is similarly irregular in most of the other languages.

C't seems to give the same results as ct, namely t̃s and it: *dīcītis* > ditz, **explīcitāre* > esplechar espleitar, *facītis* > faitz,

¹ The *i* in *ueich* seems to be merely graphic.

plactum > plach plait, (hence *plaiciamen*, *plaidciar*), **vōctum* (= *vacuum*) > vuèch vōig¹ voh (hence *voiar*; *voidar* would appear to presuppose a form **vōit*).

Dc, dg: see § 73, D-g.

Dc', in the greater part of the territory, became dz, later z; but in Auvergne and some western dialects it became ts, and in parts of the southeast and southwest it gave dž: *duōdēcim* **dōdēcim* > dōze dōtze doge, *jūdicem* > iūtge, *radicina* > razina, *sēdēcim* > seze setze setge. *Iūtge* may have been influenced by iütiar.

Dn developed peculiarly in *consuetūdinem* **costūmen* > costūm, *incūdinem* **inclūd-*? > enclūtge.

Gd > dž and id, corresponding to the tš and it from ct: **frīgdum* (= *frigidum*) > frēg freit (fem. freia freida).² The irregularity in *amȳgdāla* > amandola goes back to Vulgar Latin. *Frezir freizir* is perhaps from **fre(i)zar* (cf. Italian *frizzare*) < **frigdiare*.

G'd: see Yd.

Gm > m: *pigmētum* > pimen. *Fragment* is learned. Greek γμ became um: *phlēgma* > fleuma, *sagma* > sauma.

Gn > n': *agnēllum* > anhel, *pūgnum* > pōnh. According to the rhymes, final n' would seem to have become n in many dialects. *Stagnum* > estanc, *rēgnum* > renc (also *reing*) show an early metathesis. When *gnōsco* lost its g, *cognōsco* became **conōsco* in popular Latin.

Gnd > n'd, later, in different dialects, ind, n'd, nd, ndž: *cōgnitum* **cōn'īdu* > *cōnhede *cōnhde, then cōinde, cuēnde, cōnge. Cf. Gnt below. See § 47, 1.

Gnt > n't, later, in different dialects, int, n't, nt: *cōgnitum* > **cōn'ītu* > *cōnhete (the t being due to clerical influence) >

¹ The i in *vōig* seems to be merely graphic.

² *Fret*, *freda* occur also.

çoïnte çonte; *dignitātem* **dīn'tāte* > denhtat. Cf. Gnd above.

Ks > is, in most of the territory; in Auvergne and in the extreme east it became itš or tš: *ac sic* > aissi, *exāmen* > cis-sam · eicham echam, *exilium* > eissilh, *exire* > eissir eichir ichir, **exorbāre* > cissorbar, *laxat* > laissa, *uxōrem* > oissor, *tōxicum* > tuëissec. In *essaïar*, *essemble*, *essilh*, the prefix became cs- through the analogy of ex- before consonants: cf. § 55, X.

Ksc > sc; before a, in the north and northeast, stš: **laxi-cāre* > laschar, *toxicāre* > toscar.

Ksm > s'm, later sm: *prōximum* > prōsme pruesme. For the later history of the s (prueime), see § 65, S, 1.

Kss > is: **exsanguinātum* > eissancnat, **exsūcāre* > eissügar (*essugar* presupposes a Vulgar Latin es-: see § 55, X).

Pf > f: *sapphīrum* > safir.

Ppc > (*pc), ptš (before a): **cloppicāre* > clopchar.

Ps, in some dialects, remained unaltered; but in most of the territory it changed (through xs: § 79) to is, iš, š, s, and us; iš and š belonging especially to the west, us to the east: *capsa* > capsa caissa caisha casha, *ipse* > eps eis, *ipsa mēte* > epsament eissamen ichamens, *met-ipse* > medeis mezeish medes mezeus, *ne-ipse* > neeps neis neus. The ps forms seem to have been crowded out by the others, especially by those with is.

Pt > pt, later t (except in parts of Languedoc and Gascony); in a few words, ut, it: **accaptāre* (or **accapitāre*?) > acaptar achatar, *aptum* > apte, *adaptāre* > azautar (hence *azau*:) through **ađaxtāre* (§ 79), *baptizāre* > baptegar (g = dž) bateciar, *capitāle* > captal catal chatal, *captivum* > captiu catiu and more commonly caitiu chaitiu (through **caxtiβu*:

§ 79), *rūpta* > *rota*, *septimāna* > *septmana setmana*, *sēptem* > *set*. *Escrìch escrit* (= *scriptum*) are based on *dich dit*.

Td > t (through V. L. tt): *nītidum* > *net*, *pūtīdum* > *püt*. Cf. § 47, (1).

Tm: *marītīma* > *maređma*.

Tn: if *renha*, 'rein', is connected with *rēline* (see Körting), it must have been influenced by *renhar* < *regnāre*.

Ts: *et sīc*, under the influence of *ac sīc*, became **ec sīc* > *eissi eichi ichi*.

Yd > dž and id: *cōgīto* **cōyīdo* > *cüg cüit*, *cōgītāre* **cōyidare* > *cüiar cüidar*, *rīgīdum* **rīyīdu* > *reide* (§ 50, 1). *Rede* and the feminine *reza* are peculiar. Cf. § 49, (1).

FINAL CONSONANTS.

81. The only single consonants that occur in Latin at the end of a word are b, c, d, l, m, n, r, s, t. The only groups (in words preserved) are ks, nt, st.

SINGLE FINAL CONSONANTS.

82. D, n, r, t at the end of proclitics (*ad*, *in*, *per*, *et*) are really medial consonants and must be distinguished from final n, r, t in independent words (*nōmen*, *frater*, *amat*); final d occurs only in proclitics. The consonants will be treated in alphabetical order: —

B appears as b in *Iacōb*, p in *Iop*, both learned.

C apparently fell after all vowels in some dialects; in others it fell only after back vowels, and became i after a and front vowels: *eccu'hōc* (§ 55, W) > *acō* (§ 43, 2), *ecce hōc* > *aisso çō sō*, *hōc* > *ō* meaning 'it' (while *oc*, 'yes' probably comes from **hocque*: cf. A. Thomas in *Rom.*, XXXVII, 322); *fac* > *fai*, *illāc* (§ 16, 4) > *lai la*, *ecce hac* > *sai sa*; *dīc* > *di*, *ecce*

hīc > eici, *sīc* > si. *Dūi* < *dūc* may perhaps be explained as due to the analogy of *dūire* and of *fai*. Cf. § 63, (6).

D in *apud* fell early: see § 65, P, 2. In the proclitics *ad*, *quid*, the d disappeared before a consonant, and before a vowel became in most dialects *ð* > z (cf. § 65, D): a, que; a^ð az, que^ð quez.

L fell in *in simul* > essem. It remained in the learned *Abel*, *tribunal*. It is believed by some that *sivals*, 'at least', comes from *sī vel*.

M fell in Vulgar Latin at the end of a word of more than one syllable (§ 55, M): *crēdam crēda* > creza, *dōnum dōnu* > don, *fōrtem fōrte* > fort; *Adam* is learned. At the end of an independent monosyllable, it fell in some dialects and in others became n (cf. § 65, N): *jam* > ia, *rēm* > rē ren (Marcabru uses rēy for the rhyme), *sūm* (verb) > sō sōn. At the end of proclitics, m was probably kept at first before vowels and labials, while it became n before dentals, ŋ before gutturals, and disappeared before spirants; but the n forms (helped by the analogy of *en*, *non*) and those without a final consonant replaced m before vowels and partly before labials, and probably took the place of ŋ before gutturals; we find, then, sometimes m before labials, but either no consonant or n before all other sounds: *quēm* > que, *sūm* (verb) > sō sōn, *sūm* (= *sūum*) > sō sōn sōm, **tūm* (= *tūum*) > tō tōn tōm.

N fell in Vulgar Latin at the end of a word of more than one syllable (§ 55, M): *nōmen nōme* > nōm. At the end of proclitics we generally find n before a vowel, a form without n before spirants, both forms before other consonants, but often m before a labial: *īn* > en (*en amar*, *en cant*), e (*e Fransa*, *e ls*), em (*em breu*); *nōn* > non (*non es*, *non ges*), no (*no falk*, *no tol*), nom (*nom plagues*).

R remained: *amātor* > amaire, *cōr* > çoř, *marmor* > marbre (*marme* shows dissimilation), *sōror* > sōrre (*sor* through proclitic use). So in proclitics: *per* > per, *sūper* > sōbre.

1. A Provençal final r began to fall in the west and south in the 14th century: cf. § 65, R, 1.

S remained: *amicus* > amics, *cōrpus* > çořs, *facias* > fassas, *fōrtēs* > fōrtz, *ōpēras* > oբras, *sūbtus* > sōtz. Between a palatal, or an n that did not fall, and an s, a t developed in some dialects: *annos* > anz, *fīlios* > filz; cf. § 63, (1), (8).

1. Final s began to fall or to become i in many dialects as early as the 14th century: cf. § 65, S, 1. In *mai*, beside *mais*, the fall was earlier.

2. Final ts > t, in the second person plural of verbs, in parts of Liousin and Dauphiné: *habētis* > aveh. Cf. § 64. In all first person plural forms (except *esmes*) final s fell very early: *amāmus amāmu* > amám. Cf. § 167.

3. Through the influence of such common adverbs as *entz* < *intus*, *fors* < *fōris*, *ios* < *deōrsūm*, *mais* < *magis*, *mens* < *mīnus*, *nemps* < *nīmis*, *plus* < *plūs*, *sotz* < *sūbtus*, *sus* < *sūrsum*, s, coming to be regarded as an adverbial ending, was often added to the suffix *-men* (*belamens*), to many other adverbs, as *ensem-s*, *era-s*, *onca-s*, *poissa-s*, and to some prepositions, as *sen-s* (cf. *tras*, *vers*, etc.). By the analogy of such double forms, we have *for*, *men* beside *fors*, *mens*.

4. *Magis*, used as a proclitic, probably became in Vulgar Latin **mais* and **mas*, whence Provençal *mais* and *mas*. For *mai*, see 1 above.

T, in independent words, fell very early, except in the preterit of verbs; there it was retained in most dialects in weak preterits of the first and third conjugations, in many dialects in weak preterits of the fourth, but disappeared in strong preterits: *amat* > ama, *cantābat* > cantava, *dar* **hat* > dara, *dōnet* > don, *stat* > esta, *partībat* > partia, *placet* > platz, *tenēr* + *-ē(b)at* > tenria, *vēnit* > ven; *donāvit* > donet done, *vēndidit* **vendēdit* > vendet vende, *partīvit partit* > parti partit, *placuit* > plac, *vīdit* > vi. In the proclitics *et* and **ot* (= *aut*), the t fell before consonants; before vowels it became d,

which, under the influence of *ad* and *quid*, developed like an original d: *et* > e, *eð* ez; **ot* > o, *oð* oz; later, e and o came to be used often before vowels also.

FINAL GROUPS.

83. Ks remained in Vulgar Latin at the end of monosyllables only (§ 55, X); there it became, in Provençal, is: *rēx* > *reïs*, *sēx* > *seïs*. *Grexx*, *nicx* are Latinisms.

Nt was generally reduced to n; but in the extreme north and some parts of the south the t was retained in *-ant*: *amant* > *aman*, *habē(b)ant* > *avian* *aviant*; *cantent* > *canten*; *vēndunt* > *vendon*. In some dialects the n fell after o, u (*vendo*, *au*); *-on* and *-o* were used concurrently by the poets.

St > s in *ēst* > *es*. Cf. § 28, 5.

SPORADIC CHANGE.

84. For certain consonant changes no laws have been established.¹ Some of them doubtless originate in the language of children, which is governed by principles different from those which regulate the speech of adults. Others are due to vague associations of sound or sense. Borrowed and learned words are especially exposed to such whimsical alteration.

INSERTION.

85. The insertion (or addition) of a consonant, in such cases as those mentioned below, is probably always due to some false association or wrong etymology, but the specific

¹ The phenomena of dissimilation have been well classified by M. Grammont in *La dissimilation consonantique dans les langues indo-européennes et dans les langues romanes*, 1895. For metathesis, see *Zs.*, XXVIII, 1.

cause often cannot be ascertained; the added consonant seems to be generally a liquid or a nasal:—

alhondre -s < *aliūnde*: V. L. **aliūnder*?

· consi = *cossi* < *eccu' sic*: analogy of the prefix *co-* *con-*. Cf. § 76, (1),
nf, ns.

enclutge < *incūdīnem*: cf. French *enclume*.

engal = *egal* < *aquālem*: analogy of the prefix *e-* *en-*. Cf. § 76, (1),
nf, ns.

invern = *ivern* < *hibērnum*: *hi-* mistaken for the prefix *in-*; cf. Italian *inverno*, etc.

parven (hence *parvensa*) < *parētem* (*parēre*): analogy of *serven*, *serven*, or of *espaven*, *espavensa*, or influence of *parui*, etc.?

penchenar < *pectināre*: analogy of *pencheire*, *penchura*?

perdris = *perditz* < *perdicem*: progressive assimilation? Cf. French *perdrix*.

pouzer = *pouze* < *pōllīcem*: confusion with *polgar* < *pollicāre*.

refreitor = *refeitor* < *refectōrium*: association with *refreidar* (*freit*).

renlinquir = *nelinquir* < *relinquēre*: analogy of *e-* *en-*; cf. *reforsar* and French *renforcer*.

METATHESIS.

86. Metathesis is not very common in Provençal, although a few texts offer many examples; it is apparently restricted to liquids and nasals:—

cabirql = **cabriol* < *caprēdolum*.

cocodrilla < *crocodilum*: cf. Italian *cocodrillo*.

craba = *cabra* < *capra*.

enfrondar = **enfondrar* < French *effondrer* < ? **infūndulāre*.

escremir < *skirmōn*: cf. French *escrimer*.

estanc < *stagnum*: cf. French *étang*.

esturmen = *estrumen* < *instrumentum*: cf. Italian *strumento*.

formir = *fromir* < *frumjan*: cf. French *formir*, etc.

freir = *ferir* < *ferire*.

grada = *garda* < **warda*.

grepid = *guerpir* < *wērpan*.

lhun = *nulh* < *nūllum*: analogy of *negun*. Cf. Fr. *nune part* (Balzac).

presseguier (also *pess-*) < **préssega* < *pērska*.

reñc (also *reguc*) < *rēgnum*.

trida < *rtypida*.

tronar < *tonitruāre* + *thrōnus*.

truçill < *tōrculum*.

trobar < ? *tūrbāre*: see Körtling.

1. In *ginhol* = *genolh* < *genūcūlum* the palatalization is shifted from the liquid to the nasal. In *lunh* = *nulh* < *nullum*, on the other hand, the palatalization remains at the end of the word, but the liquid and the nasal change places.

DISSIMILATION.

87. Dissimilation, like the other irregular phenomena, affects mainly liquids and nasals, particularly *r*; it is not, however, entirely confined to these classes. The two nasals, *m* and *n*, are similar enough to undergo dissimilation. Some of the cases go back to Vulgar Latin, while others are peculiar to Provençal or to Provençal and French. In the table below, a dash indicates the total disappearance of the consonant in question.

$\beta + \beta > \beta + -$ ($v + -$): *habēbam* > **aβēa* > *avia*, **vivāciārium* > *viacier*, *vivācius* > *viatz*. *Vianda*, whatever its ultimate origin may be, was probably borrowed from French.

$kw + kw > k + kw$: *quīque* > *cīque* > *cinc*.

$l + l > r + l$, $- + l$, $d + l$: *calamēllum* > *calameļ* *caramel*, **umbilicūlum* > *emborīgol*, *flēbilem* > *fleble* *freble* *feble*, *ūllāre* > *ulular* *udolar*. Perhaps *pūs* = *plūs* < *plūs* is to be explained by dissimilation, occurring in such phrases as *plus larc*, *plus lonc*.

$m + m > n + m$: *memorāre* > *membrar* *nembrar* (*renembransa*).

$m + n > m + r$: **comīnicāre* > *comenegar* *comergar*, **indomīnicātum* > *endomeniat* *endomergat*, *manċpium* > *mansip* *marsip*, *manċum* > *margue*, *mōnāchum* > *mongue* *morgue*.

n + m > **r + m**: *anīma* > anma arma, **minimāre* > mermar.

n + n > **n + r**, **r + n**; ? **d + n**: *canōnīcum* > canónegue canorgue, *venēnum* > verin; *nec ūnum* > negün degün? (cf. Andalusian and Asturian *dengun*, Catalan *dingu*, apparently from *nec ūnum + nīngŭlum*).

r + r > **r + —**, **— + r**, **l + r**: **Bernhardum* > Bernart Bernat, *marmor* > marbre marme, *prōprium* > prōpri prōpi; *dīe Mērcūrī* (influenced by *dīe Vēnēris*) > dimērcres dimēcres, *grandem rem* > granrē ganrē, *pr(eh)ēndēre* > prenre penre, *prēsbyter* > prēstre pēstre; *arbitrium* > albire, **Arvernium* > Alvernhe, *peregrinus* > pele(g)rīnus > peleris, *pūrpūra* > pōlpra.

s + s > **— + s**: **spasmāre* > (espasme) pasmar (cf. French *pâmer*), perhaps through confusion of the initial es- with the prefix ex-.

t + t? > **— + t**: *stationem?* > sazo (cf. French *saison*, Spanish *sazon*).

y + y > **y + —**: **disjejunāre* > **disieunāre* > **disy'nāre* > dis'nar disnar.

III. MORPHOLOGY.

88. The most important morphological developments are common to all, or nearly all, the Romance languages. They may therefore be ascribed, in their early stages, to Vulgar Latin, although direct evidence of their beginnings is scanty.

I. DECLENSION.

NOUNS.

89. (1) During the late Vulgar Latin and early Romance period neuter nouns gradually became masculine; this change was doubtless due in part to phonetic developments which obliterated distinctive endings: *dōnum* > *dōn*, m.; *nōmen* > *nōm*, m. *Mare*, however, became almost always feminine in Gaul: *la mar*. Some neuter plurals in *-a*, used mainly in a collective sense, were preserved and eventually became feminine singulars: *fōlium fōlia* > *folha*, f. sg.; *lignum ligna* > *lenha*, f. sg.; so *luogua*, *pōma*, *prada*, beside *lōc*, *pōm*, *prat* (and, by analogy, *grasa*, beside *gras* < *gradus*); similarly *labia* > *lavias*, f. pl.

(2) Masculine and feminine nouns usually kept their original gender. Abstract nouns in *-or*, however, regularly became feminine in Gaul, other abstract nouns being mostly feminine in Latin: *honōrem* > *onor*, f.; *sapōrem* > *sabor*, f. With the exception of *manus*, which generally retained its gender, feminine nouns of the second and fourth declensions, unless they

passed into the first declension (*pīrus* > *pēra*), became masculine, to conform to the usual *-us* type: *fraxīnus* > *fraisnes*, m.; *pīnus* > *pins*, m. Attracted by such words as these, *arbor* became masculine. There were some other less important shifts.

1. *Juventus*, passing into the second declension, became masculine (*ioven*); but we find also *ioventut*, f. *Laus* became masculine in Provençal; *fin*, on the other hand, is always feminine. *Mèrula* > *merle*, m. *Correitz*, *linh*, both m., occur beside *correia* < *corrigia*, *linha* < *linea*. Other similar changes might be noted. Pr. *dia* (also *di*), like Latin *dies*, is usually masculine.

90. Some nouns passed from the fourth to the second declension in the classic Latin period (*dōmus*, *ficus*); the rest doubtless followed in Vulgar Latin (*frūctus*,¹ *gradus*, *manus*). Fifth declension nouns in *-ies* went over, for the most part, to the first declension:² *dies* > *dia*, *facies* > *fassa*, *glacies* > *glassa*, *rabies* > *rabia*; but we find also *di*, *fatz*, *glatz* (*ratge* is probably French), following the third declension type. Fifth declension nouns which did not shift to the first came to be declined after the model of the third (*fides*, *res*, *spes*). The five declensions were therefore reduced to three, presumably in Vulgar Latin times. Among these there were some exchanges: *polvera*, *vergena*; cf. § 89, (1), (2), 1.

91. The use of cases became more and more restricted in Vulgar Latin, prepositional constructions taking the place of pure case distinction. At the beginning of the Romance period, nouns probably had, in unstudied speech, only two cases in constant use: a nominative and an accusative or accusative-ablative. These two cases were generally retained

¹ Cato uses *fructi*.

² The process began in classic Latin: *materies materia*, etc.

in Provençal, for the second and third declensions, until the literary period: we may call them *nominative* and *objective*.

(1) The locative, which had almost vanished in classic Latin, lingered in Vulgar Latin only in names of places. It has left no sure traces in Provençal.

(2) The vocative, in classic Latin, was like the nominative for most words; in Vulgar Latin it probably disappeared, except in Church phrases, such as *mī dōmīne*. In Provençal we find the nominative regularly used in address (chanços, companh, emperaire, ioglars, Papiols), although the objective occasionally occurs in its stead (barons pl., ioglar malastrüc, trachor).

(3) The genitive, in the popular language, was little by little replaced by other constructions—commonly by the ablative with *de* or by the dative; the beginnings of this substitution may be observed as early as Plautus. Among Provençal nouns—aside from such learned forms as ancianor, christianor, companhor, paianor, parentor—we find remnants of the genitive only in a few compound words, as diïous < *diē Jōvis*, and in the standing phrase es mestier < *est ministērii*.

(4) The dative, which in most words had the same ending as the ablative, came to be replaced, in the greater part of the Empire, by the accusative with *ad*; this construction, too, goes back as far as Plautus. Provençal nouns retain no traces of the dative.

(5) The ablative, after the fall of final *m* (§ 55, M) and the loss of quantitative distinctions in unstressed syllables (§ 21), differed little or not at all from the accusative in the singular of nearly all nouns: *causām causā, dōnūm dōnō, patrēm patrē, fructūm fructū, diēm diē*. Furthermore, some prepositions (especially *in*) were used both with the accusative and

with the ablative. It was inevitable, then, that the two cases should be confounded in the singular, and we have evidence of such confusion as early as the first century of our era; this led gradually to a substitution of the accusative for the ablative in the plural, the accusative plural being somewhat commoner and frequently simpler than the ablative. We may, therefore, take the accusative as the basis of the Provençal objective, remembering, however, that this accusative has been more or less blended with the ablative.

(6) The two-case declension remained theoretically in use in Provençal literature through the 14th century; but in texts later than the 12th, cases are often confused. From the spoken language the declension disappeared, in the west (as in Catalan), before the literary period; in the centre and east, probably in the 12th century; in the north, in the 13th. The case preserved was usually the objective, but sometimes the nominative. Some nouns in *-aire* *-ador* kept both forms, with a differentiation of meaning.

92. In the discussion of declensions some phonetic peculiarities must not be overlooked:—

(1) In the nom. pl. of the 2d declension, a stressed *e*, followed in the next syllable by final *-i*, would regularly give *i* (cf. § 27, 1); but the *e* is preserved by the analogy of the nom. and obj. sg. and the obj. pl.: *capilli* > *cabel*, *mīssi* > *mes*, *quēti* > *quet*, *sēri* > *ser*. We do, however, find *cabil*, and (perhaps by analogy) *auzil* < *aucēlli*.

(2) In the nom. pl. of the 2d declension, a *c* or *g* before the final *-i* would regularly be palatalized (cf. § 55, C, G); but it is preserved from palatalization by the analogy of the other three forms: *amīcī* > *amic*, *lōngī* > *lonc*.

(3) For the development of a t between a palatal or an n and a final s, see § 82, S: *annos* > anz, *filius* > filz.

(4) For the simplification of final scs, sts to cs, ts, see § 78, 2: **būscus*? > boc, *tristes* > tritz.

(5) For the history of *-arius* and *-tōrius*, see § 23, 1 and § 73, Ry, 1.

93. (1) Nouns whose objective singular ended in s were invariable in the earlier part of the literary period; *bracchium* > bratz, *cōrpus* > cōrs, *imperatricem* > emperairitz, *fascem* > fais, *latus* > latz, *lūcem* > lütz, *missum* > meš, *nasum* > nas, *opus* > ops, *ursum* > ors, *piscem* > peis, *pēctus* > peitz, *prētium* > pretz, *tēpus* > tems, *vērsum* > vēr, *visum* > vis, *vōcem* > votz. Later, however, a plural (originally obj. pl.) was made for such words by adding -es, generally at a time when final ts had been reduced to s (§ 64): *brasses*, *cōrses*, *messes*, *peisses*, *veres*; examples occur as early as the end of the 12th century.

(2) Other invariable nouns are midons, sidons, and often laus and res; the last two sometimes have an objective lau, re. Midons comes from the Church Latin *mī dōmīne*, which was popularized by the substitution of the Provençal don for *dōmīne* and the addition of the nom. -s; the term was transferred from religious to feudal, and thence to amatory use, and came to mean 'my lady.' *Mī domina* was common in Church Latin. Sidons is formed on the model of midons.

(3) For nouns in tš, see § 63, (1): **disdūctum* > desdüg, *fructum* > frūch, *gaudium* > gaug, *noctem* > nuech. Such words were very often written in the plural with -gz, which was pronounced either ts or tš. The pronunciation ts is attested by such rhymes as *malfagz*: *alumenatz*.

94. Infinitives used substantively conformed to the 2d de-

clension type: lauzars lauzar (like *foçs foç*), rire-s rire (like *fabre-s fabre*): see § 96. The same thing is true of masculine post-verbal nouns: (*getar*) *gețz geț*, (*guidar*) *guitz guit*, (*lansar*) *lans* (invariable).

FIRST DECLENSION.

95. This declension came to include a part of the fifth and also some neuter plurals of the second and third. With the exception of *dia* (nearly always masculine) and of a few learned words, it contained only feminine nouns. As the nominative, accusative, and ablative singular early became identical, leaving only one form in the singular, the plural forms were reduced to one, the accusative crowding out the nominative; this substitution, which must have been begun before the Provençal period, was doubtless helped by the identity of nominative and accusative plural in feminine nouns of the third declension. *Causa* will serve as a model:—

<i>causa</i>	> <i>causa</i>	<i>cause</i> * <i>causas</i>	> <i>causas</i>
<i>causam</i>	> <i>causa</i>	<i>causas</i>	> <i>causas</i>

1. *Dia* sometimes has a nom. sg. *dias*, following the example of other masculine nouns.

2. Many feminine proper names, in Gaul and elsewhere, developed a Low Latin declension *-a -āne(m)* or *-a -ēne(m)*, as *Anna Annāne*. Provençal has few traces of this inflection. The word *putana* < ? *pūtīda* + *ānem* + *a* may be a remnant of it. Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Gram.*, II, p. 27; E. Philippon, *Les accusatifs en -on et en -ain, Rom.*, XXXI, 201.

SECOND DECLENSION.

96. This declension came to include the fourth. With the exception of *mas*, 'hand' (generally feminine), it contained only masculine nouns. The different types may be illustrated by *fōcus*, *dōnum*, *faber*:—

<i>fōcus</i> > <i>fōcs</i>	<i>dōnum</i> * <i>dōnus</i> > <i>dōns</i>	<i>faber</i> > faure fabre fabres
<i>fōcum</i> > <i>fōc</i>	<i>dōnum</i> > <i>dōn</i>	<i>fabrum</i> > fabre
<i>fōcī</i> > <i>fōc</i>	<i>dōna</i> * <i>dōnī</i> > <i>dōn</i>	<i>fabrī</i> > fabre
<i>fōcos</i> > <i>fōcs</i>	<i>dōna</i> * <i>dōnos</i> > <i>dōns</i>	<i>fabros</i> > fabres

For the *c* of *fōcī*, see § 92, (2). For **dōnus*, etc., see § 89 (1). Nom. fabre is due to the analogy of the other three cases; the *s* of fabres is borrowed from the prevailing *fōcs* type.

1. Neuters which long preserved their gender often have no *-s* in the nom. sg.: *segle* or *segles*. Nouns in *-age* from *-aticum* commonly have no *-s*: *corage*, *damage*, *message*, *senhorage*; but forms with *-s* occur also. Learned nouns in *-i* from *-ium* regularly have no *-s*: *breviari*, *emperi*, *iurizi*, *testimoni*. Post-verbal nouns, on the other hand, usually take the nom. *-s*: *albiros*, *blasme-s*, *consiros*, *desiros* (cf. § 94). By the analogy of the *fabre-s*, *segle-s*, *blasme-s* types, many masculines in *-e* sometimes drop the *-s*: *clergue-s*, *diable-s*, *morgue-s*, *oncle-s*, *poble-s*. *Maestre*, *prestre* regularly have no *-s*.

2. Most proper names are declined like common nouns: *Arnauts* *Arnaut*, *Boecis* *Boeci*, *Enrics* *Enric*, *Lozoics* *Lozoic*, *Peire-s* *Peire*. Many proper names, however, developed in Gaul and elsewhere, from the 9th century on, a Low Latin declension *-us -ōne(m)*, as *Petrus* *Petrōnis* (cf. § 95, 2): hence *Carle-s* *Carló*, *Peire-s* *Peiró*, etc.; so *Bergonhs* *Bergonhó*, etc.

3. *Mas*, being usually feminine, has a nom. pl. *mas*.

4. For *pagadi*, *salvi*, *solí*, etc., and *beill*, *peccah*, *esunh*, etc., see § 51, 1.

THIRD DECLENSION.

97. This declension absorbed a part of the fifth: cf. § 90.

98. Nouns whose stem was different in the nominative and the accusative singular, reconstructed the nominative to correspond to the accusative, the new form being similar to the original genitive: *papilio* *papiliōnem* > *papiliōnis* *papiliōnem*, *pēs* *pēdem* > *pēdis* *pēdem*. The change began in the Vulgar Latin period. Exceptions to the rule are names of persons,

unless they ended in *-ans* or *-ens*: *nēpos nepōtem* > *nēps nebot*; but *amans amantem* > **amantis amantem* > *amāns amán*.

1. *Carnis* for *caro* is used by classic writers. *Grūis* for *grūs* occurs in the *Appendix Probi* III, belonging perhaps to the 3d century. *Papilionis, pēdis, travis* = *trabs*, and some others are found in the 8th century *Glossary of Reichenau*.

99. Masculine nouns of the third declension, early in the Provençal period, made their nominative plural conform to the second declension type, thus distinguishing it from the objective plural: *pater patrem patres patres* > *paire paire paire paires* (cf. Old French and Italian). Feminines, on the other hand, kept the nominative plural in *-s*: *mater matrem matres matres* > *maire maire maires maires*.

100. A few neuter nouns, becoming masculine in Vulgar Latin, developed distinctively masculine forms in the singular: *gēnus gēnus* > **gēnēris *gēnērem* > *genres genre*; so *fūlgur* (> *fūlger*) > **fūlgērem* > *fouzer*. Most neuters, however, kept in the singular their original stem: *sēmen* > *sem*, *tēmpus* > *tems*. But those in *-men* regularly, and those in *-r* sometimes, took an *-s* in the nominative singular: *flūmen flūmen* > *flüms flüm*, *marmor marmor* > *marme-s marme*; *çor*, in the literary language, usually has no nominative *-s*. In the plural most neuters brought their forms into harmony with the masculine type, but those in *-us* kept the *-s* throughout: (*caput*) > *capus *capum capita capita* > *caps cap cap caps*, *cōr cōr cōrda cōrda* > *çor çor çor çors*, *nōmen nōmen nōmina nōmina* > *noms nom nom noms*; but *cōrpus cōrpus cōrpōra cōrpōra* > *çors çors çors çors*. *Mare*, becoming feminine, was declined thus: *mars mar mars mars*.

1. *Gēnus* also became *ges*, which was used as an adverb.

101. The third declension comprises three principal types: (1) nouns which in Latin had no difference of stem or of

- accent between the nominative and the accusative singular;
 (2) those which had a difference of stem but not of accent;
 (3) those which had a difference of accent.

(1) Nouns with no difference of stem or of accent:—

MASCULINE

<i>canis</i> > cas	<i>pater</i> > paire-s	<i>sōl</i> > sōl-s
<i>canem</i> > ca	<i>patrem</i> > paire	<i>sōlem</i> > sōl
<i>canes</i> > ca	<i>patres</i> > paire	<i>sōles</i> > sōl
<i>canes</i> > cas	<i>patres</i> > paires	<i>sōles</i> > sōls

FEMININE

<i>finis</i> ¹ > fis	<i>mater</i> > maire	<i>fides</i> > fēs
<i>finem</i> > fi	<i>matrem</i> > maire	<i>fidem</i> > fē
<i>fines</i> > fis	<i>matres</i> > maires	<i>fidēs</i> > fēs
<i>fines</i> > fis	<i>matres</i> > maires	<i>fidēs</i> > fēs

1. Masculine nouns of this type which etymologically had no -s in the nom. sg., often took one, even in the earliest times.

2. *Laus* and *res* were often invariable, but were sometimes declined like *sōls* and *fēs*.

(2) Nouns with a difference of stem but not of accent:—

MASCULINE	FEMININE	NEUTER
<i>pōns</i> * <i>pōntis</i> > ponz	<i>pars</i> * <i>partis</i> > partz	<i>lūmen</i> > lūm-s
<i>pōntem</i> > pon	<i>partem</i> > part	<i>lūmen</i> > lūm
<i>pōntes</i> > pon	<i>partes</i> > partz	<i>lūmīna</i> > lūm
<i>pōntes</i> > ponz	<i>partes</i> > partz	<i>lūmīna</i> > lūms

NAMES OF PERSONS

<i>cōmes</i> > coms	<i>hōmo</i> > om
<i>cōmitem</i> > comte	<i>hōmīnem</i> > ome omne ²
<i>cōmītes</i> > comte	<i>hōmīnes</i> > ome omne
<i>cōmītes</i> > comtes	<i>hōmīnes</i> > omes omnes

1. For other neuter types, see § 100.

2. *Om* later developed an inflection *oms om om oms*.

3. *Lex, rex* became *leis lei leis leis, reis rei rei reis*.

¹ See § 89, 1.

² See § 47, (3).

(3) Nouns with a difference of accent: —

MASCULINE		FEMININE	
<i>sērmō</i> * <i>sermōnis</i>	> <i>sermōs</i>	<i>ratio</i> * <i>rationis</i>	> <i>razōs</i>
<i>sermōneri</i>	> <i>sermō</i>	<i>rationem</i>	> <i>razō</i>
<i>sermōnes</i>	> <i>sermō</i>	<i>rationes</i>	> <i>razōs</i>
<i>sermōnes</i>	> <i>sermōs</i>	<i>rationes</i>	> <i>razōs</i>

NAMES OF PERSONS IN -ANS, -ENS

<i>amans</i> * <i>amantis</i>	> <i>amáns</i>	<i>parens</i> * <i>parentis</i>	> <i>paréns</i>
<i>amantem</i>	> <i>amán</i>	<i>parentem</i>	> <i>parén</i>
<i>amantes</i>	> <i>amán</i> (f. <i>amáns</i>)	<i>parentes</i>	> <i>parén</i> (f. <i>paréns</i>)
<i>amantes</i>	> <i>amáns</i>	<i>parentes</i>	> <i>paréns</i>

NAMES OF PERSONS NOT IN -ANS, -ENS

<i>amātor</i>	> <i>amaire</i>	<i>sēnior</i>	> <i>senher</i>	<i>mūlier</i>	> <i>mōlher</i>
<i>amatōrem</i>	> <i>amadōr</i>	<i>seniōrem</i>	> <i>senhōr</i>	<i>muliērem</i> ¹	> <i>molhēr</i>
<i>amatōres</i>	> <i>amadōr</i>	<i>seniōres</i>	> <i>senhōr</i>	<i>muliēres</i>	> <i>molhērs</i>
<i>amatōres</i>	> <i>amadōrs</i>	<i>seniōres</i>	> <i>senhōrs</i>	<i>muliēres</i>	> <i>molhērs</i>
<i>servitōr</i>	> <i>servire</i>	<i>baro</i>	> <i>bar</i>	<i>sōror</i>	> <i>sōrre sōr</i> ²
<i>servitōrem</i>	> <i>servidōr</i>	<i>barōnem</i>	> <i>barō</i>	<i>sorōrem</i>	> <i>sorōr</i>
<i>servitōres</i>	> <i>servidōr</i>	<i>barōnes</i>	> <i>barō</i>	<i>sorōres</i>	> <i>sorōrs</i>
<i>servitōres</i>	> <i>servidōrs</i>	<i>barōnes</i>	> <i>barōs</i>	<i>sorōres</i>	> <i>sorōrs</i>

1. After the same pattern as *senher*, we have *pastor pastōrem* > *pastre pastór*, etc.; after the *bar* pattern, **companio* (Einf., § 43) **companiōnem* > *companh* *companhó*, **fīllo* (Körting) **fillōnem*? > *fel* *feló*, *glūtto* (= *glūto*) *gluttōnem* > *glot* *glotó*, *latro latrōnem* > *laire* *lairó*, *lèo* (treated like the name of a person) *leōnem* > *leu* *leó*, etc. On the model of *amaire*, *servire*, we find *trobair* *trobador*, etc., *iauzire* *iauzidor*, etc.; and, for the second and third conjugations, *teneire* *tenedor*, etc., *beveire* *bevedor*, etc. The inflection of such words became much confused, and some of them eventually developed double declensions: *bars* *bar* *bar bars*, *barós* *baró* *baró barós*; *emperaires* *empeaire* *empeaire emperaires*, *emperadors* *emperador* *emperador emperadors*. Some proper names follow the *bar* model: *Bret* *Bretó*, *Folc-s* (*Folques*) *Folcó* (later *Folcós* *Folcó*), *Gasc* *Gascó*, *Uc* *Ugó*, (later *Ucs* *Uc*); cf. § 96, 2.

¹ See § 16, 1.² See § 52, (1), 1.

ADJECTIVES.

102. What has been said concerning the inflection of nouns applies also to adjectives: see §§ 91-101. For pronominal adjectives see §§ 114 ff.

1. The operation of phonetic laws sometimes results in a difference in stem between the m. and the f.: *bos bona, larcs larga, nutz nuda, preon preonda; mut muda, prezat prezada*. For *pauc pauca, rauc rauca*, see § 65, C, 1. For *-arius -aria, -lōrius -lōria*, see § 23, 1; § 73, Ry, 1.

2. Adjectives in -s or -š are undeclinable in the m. sg.: *glorios, perfieg*. Those in -s originally had no inflectional ending in the m. pl., but later they sometimes added -es: *divers diverses, frances franceses*. For the pl. of those in š, see § 93, (3).

103. We must recognize two classes of adjectives: (1) those which in Latin distinguish the feminine from the masculine; (2) those which do not.

1. Adjectives like *acer*, which, though inflected after the 3d declension type, could distinguish the m. from the f. in the nom. sg., fell into one or the other—usually the first—of the following classes (*agre agra, alegre alegra; terrestre terrestre*).

(1) Masculine and feminine different: —

MASCULINE		FEMININE	
<i>bēllus</i>	> bēls	<i>bēlla</i>	> bēla
<i>bēllum</i>	> bēl	<i>bēllam</i>	> bēla
<i>bēlli</i>	> bēl	<i>bēllæ * bēllas</i>	> bēlas
<i>bēllos</i>	> bēls	<i>bēllas</i>	> bēlas
<i>pauper</i>	> paubre-s	<i>paupēra</i>	> paubra
<i>paupērum</i>	> paubre	<i>paupēram</i>	> paubra
<i>paupēri</i>	> paubre	<i>paupēra-*as</i>	> paubras
<i>paupēros</i>	> paubres	<i>paupēras</i>	> paubras

(2) Masculine and feminine alike: —

MASCULINE		FEMININE	
<i>gentilis</i>	> gentils	<i>gentilis</i>	> gentils
<i>gentilem</i>	> gentil	<i>gentilem</i>	> gentil
<i>gentiles</i>	> gentil	<i>gentiles</i>	> gentils
<i>gentiles</i>	> gentils	<i>gentiles</i>	> gentils

1. Some adjectives of the second class were attracted into the first either in Vulgar Latin or in Provençal; this happened to all adjectives in *-ts*, *-able*, *-ible*, and also to *comun*, *dous*, *fol*, *freble*, *graile*, *len*, *mol*, *noble*, *pauvre* (early), *rude*, *trist*: *cortes cortesa*, *durable durabla*; *comuna*, *doussa*, etc. Some kept both inflections: *dolens*, *dolens* or *dolenta*; *grans*, *grans* or *granda*, etc.

104. In impersonal constructions we frequently find a nominative singular without *-s*, which is apparently a survival of the Latin neuter: *m'es bel* (*greu*, *parven*, *semblan*, etc.) *que* . . . But the form with *-s* sometimes occurs in the same constructions: *m'es greus que* . . .

1. For *es mestier*, see § 91, (3).

105. Most adverbs of manner were formed by adding *-men* (*-ment*, *-mens*, or *-menz*) to the feminine singular of the adjective: *belamen*. These adverbs were originally ablative phrases: *serēna mēnte*, etc. In Provençal the specific meaning of the *-men* was forgotten, but the two parts might still be separated by an intervening word: *epsa* . . . *ment*. When two adverbs in *-men* were used together, the ending was generally affixed to only one, oftener the first. *Bona* and *mala* could be used as adverbs without the suffix.

1. For the adverbial ending *-s*, see § 82, S, 3.

COMPARISON.

106. Adjectives and adverbs regularly formed their comparative by prefixing *plüs* to the positive, and their superlative by prefixing the definite article to the comparative: *cara*, *plüs cara*, *la plüs cara*. This method of comparison goes back to Vulgar Latin times.

1. 'Than' is expressed by *que* and *de*.

107. Some adjectives preserved their old comparative in

-ior. These comparatives had an inflection similar to that of *senher*: cf. § 101, (3) and § 101, (3), 1.

POSITIVE		COMPARATIVE	
<i>altus</i> :	aut	_____	aussor
* <i>bellātus</i> = <i>bēllus</i> :	_____	bellaire bellázer-s	bellazor
<i>gēntius</i> :	gen	génsér-s	gensor
* <i>grēvis</i> = <i>gravis</i> :	grēu	grēuger	_____
<i>grōssus</i> :	grōs	gruēysser	_____
<i>laið</i> :	lai	láiger	
<i>largus</i> :	larc	_____	largor
<i>lēvis</i> :	lēu	lēuger	_____
<i>lōngus</i> :	lonc	_____	lonhōr
(<i>grandis</i>):	(gran)	máier	maiōr
(<i>bōnus</i>):	(bon)	meļher	meļhōr
(<i>paucus</i>):	(pauc)	meñre-s	meñor
<i>nūgālis</i> :	_____	_____	nūalhōr
(<i>malus</i>):	(mal)	peier	peiōr
(<i>mūltus</i>):	(mōlt)	_____	plūsor ¹
<i>sōrdīdus</i> :	sorde	sordeier	sordeiōr

108. The following neuter comparatives were used as adverbs: *genseis genseş gensetz* (< *gēnaire* influenced by *longeis*, *sordeis*); *longeis longēitz* < ? **longītius* (< *longīter* + *lōngius*); *mais* < *magis*; *meļhs* < *mēlius*; *meñs* < *mīnus*; *peitz* < *pējus*; *sordeis* < *sordīdus*; *viatz* < *vivacius*. *Mais*, *meļhs*, *meñs*, *peitz* were used also as neuter pronouns. *Viatz* lost its comparative sense.

109. A few adjectives, most or all of them learned, preserved the old superlative form with an intensive sense: *altisme*, *carisme*, *peşme*, *proşme*, *santisme*.

¹ Perhaps from a fusion of *plūs* and *pluriōres* = *plūres*. Cf. Fr.

NUMERALS.

110. The cardinal numerals are: —

ün	onze	vint e ün	dozent
dos	dotze	vint e dos	tresent
tres	treize	treinta	quatre cen
quatre	quatorze	quaranta	cinc cens (de)
cinc	quinze	cinquanta	mil
seis	setze, sedze	sessanta	dos milia
set	detz e set	setanta	tres melia
ueg	detz e ueg	quatre vint	quatre mila
nou	detz e nou	nonanta	cinc millièrs (de)
detz	vint, vin	cent, cen	cent miria

111. The first two numbers were inflected as follows: —

u(n)s üna	düi doi	dos dos
ü(n) üna	dos (dúi)	dos dos

Düi doi are from Vulgar Latin *dūi* = *dūo*; dos is from *dūs*, *dōs* from *dūas*. Tres has a form *trei* (originally nom. m.), patterned after *düi*, and a form *treis*, which seems to be a cross between *tres* and *trei*. For the dialect forms of *onze*—*setze*, see §76, (1), Ndc', and §80, Dc'. Cen, multiplied by another number, took a plural form when used substantively; when used adjectively, it generally did not, but we find *dozentas* with a feminine noun. Mil had four plurals, *milia miria melia mila*; *millièrs* is a noun.

1. As an example of a longer compound numeral, we have *cen e quatre vint e ueg*.

2. From *ambo* we have the obj. forms, m. and f., *ams*, *ambas*. *Ambo* combined with *düi* (*dūs dos dūas*), and perhaps influenced by Pr. *ab* (§ 65, P, 2), had this inflection:

<i>amdui</i>	<i>andui</i>	<i>abdui</i>	<i>ambedui</i>	<i>amdoas</i>
<i>amdos</i>	<i>andos</i>	<i>abdos</i>	<i>ambedos</i>	<i>amdoas</i>

112. The ordinal numerals had separate forms for the two genders; the masculine forms followed the second declension

type, the feminine forms, the first declension. After 5th, they were made by adding to the cardinal numeral the originally distributive ending *-ēnus -ēna*.

primiēr, primiera	seize(n), seizeña	onze(n), onzeña
segon(t), segonda	sete(n), seteña	doze(n), dozeña
terz, terza	oche(n), ochena	vinte(n), vinteña
quart, quarta	nove(n), novena	centē(n), centena
quint, quinta	deze(n), dezeña	mile(n), mileña

113. Beside *primiēr* we find *premiēr* *prümiēr* *promiēr* (§ 44, 1, 3), and also *prim* and *primeiran*; for the developments of the ending *-iēr*, see § 23, 1 and § 73, Ry, 1. *Terz*, *terza* regularly became *ters*, *tersa* (§ 73, Rty). Such forms as *seçonda*, *tercia*, *seçta*, *octava*, *noņa*, *deçima* are learned.

1. As an example of a compound ordinal numeral, we have *vintena tersa*.

PRONOUNS.

114. Under this head will be treated not only pronouns and pronominal adjectives, but also articles.

115. In popular Latin the personal, possessive, and demonstrative pronouns and adjectives had two sets of forms, according as they were accented or unaccented (§ 19). *Ille*, when stressed and used pronominally, became a disjunctive personal pronoun of the third person; when unstressed and used pronominally, it furnished the conjunctive forms of the third person; when unstressed and used adjectively, it developed into a definite article. *Ipse* had similar uses. These differentiations must have begun in Vulgar Latin times.

116. The declension of *ille* was considerably altered in Vulgar Latin. The neuter *illud* disappeared, being replaced by *illum*. Through the influence of *quī cūjus cūi*, **illi illū-*

*jus*¹ *illūi*¹ came to be used beside *ille illius illi*. The feminine had, beside *illius illi*, a genitive and dative *illæ*; through the analogy of *illūjus illūi*, *illæ* was expanded into *illæjus*¹ *illæi*.¹ *Illius* then went out of use. In the plural, *illōrum* (which in some regions, by the analogy of *illūjus illūi*, had a form **illūrum*) crowded out *illārum*; this *illōrum* came to be used also as a dative.

Ipse and *iste* followed in the main the same course as *ille*.

ARTICLES.

117. The indefinite article comes from *ūnus*, which seems to have been occasionally so used even in classic Latin:—

ū(n)s	ūna
ū(n)	ūna

118. (1) The definite article comes from unaccented *ille*, which, being used as a proclitic, regularly lost its first syllable (§ 19). *Ille* (**illi*), *illum*, *illi*, *illos*, *illa*, *illas* became respectively *le* (*li*), *lo*, *li* or *lhi*,² *los*, *la*, *las*. *Le*, *lo*, *li*, *lhi*, *la* frequently elided their vowel before another vowel (*l'an*, *l'arma*), becoming *l* or *lh*. Furthermore, *le*, *lo*, *li*, *lhi*, *los*, in the intertonic position after a vowel (*vé lo páire*), regularly lost their vowel (*vel páire*)³; and, by analogy, *la* and *las* were sometimes reduced to *l* and *ls*. We have, then, beside the full forms, the proclitics *l*, *lh*, and the enclitics *l*, *lh*, *ls*. Inasmuch as *l* might be vocalized before a dental,⁴ the enclitics *l* and *ls* sometimes became *u* and *us* (*aû porter*, *eûz dias antix*).

(2) The particles *e* and *que*, with the enclitic *l*, formed

¹ These forms existed as early as the 1st century of our era. See *Zs.*, XXVI, 600, 619. *Ejus*, *ei* may have had some influence.

² See § 67, (2).

³ § 45.

⁴ § 74, (2).

combinations *el* and *quel*. *Quel*, being understood as *qu'el*, gave rise to a form *el*.

(3) In the f. nom. sg. there is a form *li* or *lhi*, which is hard to explain. The most likely theory is that when the masculine *quī* took the place of the feminine *quæ* (see § 133), the masculine **illi* came to be used beside *illa*,¹ for the feminine. The Provençal feminine *li* (*lhi*) which resulted was strongly supported by the analogy of a feminine possessive *mi*, beside *ma* (see § 127).²

(4) The regular forms are, therefore, the following: —

	MASCULINE	FEMININE
Sg. {	<i>nom.</i> : <i>le</i> <i>li</i> <i>l</i> <i>el</i>	<i>la</i> <i>li</i> <i>lhi</i> <i>l</i> <i>lh</i>
	<i>obj.</i> : <i>lo</i> <i>l</i> <i>u</i> <i>el</i>	<i>la</i> <i>l</i>
Pl. {	<i>nom.</i> : <i>li</i> <i>lhi</i> <i>l</i> <i>lh</i>	<i>las</i>
	<i>obj.</i> : <i>los</i> <i>ls</i> <i>us</i>	<i>las</i> <i>ls</i>

In many texts the objective forms *lo*, *los*, *ls* are used in the nominative.

1. The m. obj. sg. *le*, obj. pl. *les*, which occur in a few texts, are doubtless French. So is the enclitic form *s* for *ls* or *us*: *de s*, *entre s*, *e s*.

2. The enclitic forms combine as follows with the prepositions *a*, *con*, *de*, *en*, *entre*, *iosta*, *per*, *sus*, and with the conjunctions *e*, *ni*, *o*, *que*, *si*: *al au als aus*, *col*, *del deu dels deus* (*des*), *enl el els eus*, *entrels*, *iostal*, *pel pels*, *sul suls*; *eil* (= *e lhi*) *el* (= *e lo*), *nils*, *oill* (= *o lhi*), *quel*, *sil*. They combine freely with other words: *eral* (= *era le*), *fals* (= *fa los*), etc.

119. In some southwestern and some southeastern dialects we find forms *sò*, *sòs*, *sa*, *sas*, coming from *ipse*.

PERSONAL PRONOUNS.³

120. In Vulgar Latin *ego* lost its *g* (§ 55, G). The dative,

¹ Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Gram.*, II, p. 104.

² See Suchier in *Grundriss*, I, p. 627.

³ Cf. A. von Elsner, *Ueber Form und Verwendung des Personalpronomens im Altprovenzalischen*, 1886.

mīhi, was preserved only in its contracted form, *mī*. After the pattern of *mī*, **tī* and **sī* were created for the other persons.

121. Provençal has no nominative forms that are regularly unaccented. In the conjunctive forms of the third person (not reflexive), the direct object is distinguished from the indirect; elsewhere there is no such distinction.

CONJUNCTIVE FORMS.

122. Latin *mē* > *mē*, *mī* > *mī*, *nōs* > *nōs*; *tē* > *tē*, **tī* > *tī*, *vōs* > *vōs*; *sē* > *sē*, **sī* > *sī*. *Me* *mī*, *te* *tī*, *se* *sī*, used as proclitics before a vowel, or as enclitics after a vowel, were reduced to *m*, *t*, *s*: *m'ama*, *t'apela*, *s'es*; *ô m*, *bê t*, *cosi s*. *Nōs* and *vōs*, used as enclitics after a vowel, became respectively *ns* and *us*; *quē ns*, *nō us*; *sī vōs* > *sīus*, later *sieus* (§ 32). The forms (all objective) for the first and second persons and for the third person reflexive are, then: —

FIRST PERSON	SECOND PERSON	THIRD PERSON (REFLEXIVE)
<i>Sg.</i> : <i>mē</i> <i>mī</i> <i>m</i>	<i>tē</i> <i>tī</i> <i>t</i>	<i>sē</i> <i>sī</i> <i>s</i>
<i>Pl.</i> : <i>nōs</i> <i>ns</i>	<i>vōs</i> <i>us</i>	<i>sē</i> <i>sī</i> <i>s</i>

1. The pronouns of the first and second persons could, of course, be used reflexively.

123. The conjunctive forms of the third person (not reflexive) come in the main from the proclitic *ille*: *illi*, *illum*, *illōrum* (**illūrum*), *illos*, *illa*, *illas* became respectively *li* or *lhi*, *lo*, *lōr* (*lūr*), *lōs*, *la*, *las*. When used proclitically or enclitically, under the conditions described in § 118, (1), *li* (*lhi*), *lo*, *los* were reduced to *l* (*lh*), *l*, *ls*; and *l* was sometimes vocalized. *O* < *hōc* was employed also, meaning 'it.' The adverb *inde* became *ent en n* (and, through the analogy of *me* *m*, *te* *t*, *se* *s*, also *ne*), which was often used as a pro-

noun with the sense 'of it', 'of them', sometimes 'of him', 'of her'; *nos en* > *non*, *vos en* > *von*. The adverb *hic* became *i*, meaning 'here' or 'there,' which served also as a dative pronoun, 'to it,' 'to them'; it was then always an enclitic, forming a diphthong with a preceding vowel; it regularly took the place of *li* in the constructions *loi* = *lo li*, *lai* = *la li*. The forms are:—

	MASCULINE	FEMININE	NEUTER
Sg. {	<i>gen.</i> : <i>ent en n ne</i>	<i>ent en n ne</i>	<i>ent en n ne</i>
	<i>dat.</i> : <i>li lhi l lh i</i>	<i>li lhi l lh i</i>	<i>i</i>
	<i>acc.</i> : <i>lo l u</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>lo l o</i>
Pl. {	<i>gen.</i> : <i>ent en n ne</i>	<i>ent en n ne</i>	
	<i>dat.</i> : <i>lor lür</i>	<i>lor lür</i>	
	<i>acc.</i> : <i>los ls</i>	<i>las</i>	

1. *Les* for *los* is doubtless French. *Los*, *ls* were occasionally used for *m. lor*; *lors*, which occurs rarely for *lor*, looks like a cross between *lor* and *los*.

2. The following combinations illustrate the use of the enclitic forms: *aura i*, *be i*, *e l*, *laissa n*, *no i*, *qui ll*, *si ls*.

DISJUNCTIVE FORMS.

124. Vulgar Latin **ĕo* or **ĕu* > *eu ieu* (§ 30), which before an enclitic became *ē iē* (*ē l*, *iē n*). The other forms explain themselves. The nominative *tū*, from the beginning of the 13th century, was sometimes used for *tē* after prepositions; this use may have been suggested by the existence of *lū* = 'him'; § 125, (1). *Nos + en* > *non*, *vos + en* > *von*.

	FIRST PERSON	SECOND PERSON	THIRD PERSON (REFLEXIVE)
Sg. {	<i>nom.</i> : <i>eu ieu ē- iē-</i>	<i>tū</i>	
	<i>obj.</i> : <i>mē mī</i>	<i>tē (ti?) tū</i>	<i>sē si</i>
Pl. {	<i>nom.</i> : <i>nos</i>	<i>vos</i>	
	<i>obj.</i> : <i>nos</i>	<i>vos</i>	<i>sē si</i>

1. We find, besides, the French or borderland forms *ie iou iu yo* for *eu* (*gi* and *iey* have been noted also), *mei tei sei* for *me te se*.

125. The disjunctive pronouns of the third person (not reflexive) come from accented *ille*, with the exception of *o* from *hōc*. *Illūi*, *illōrum*, *illājus*, *illāi* lost their first syllable, perhaps through elision after a vowel; *illūjus* disappeared. *Ille*, **illi* gave *el elh*, *il ilh*; *el* sometimes vocalized its *l*. *Illūi* became *lūi*, in some dialects reduced to *lū*. *Illum* became *el elh*. *Illōrum* (**illūrum*) gave *lor* (*lūr*). *Illos* became *els* (often *eus*) *elhs*. *Ille*, *illam* both gave *ela elha*. *Illājus* became *leis lieis* (in some dialects reduced to *lieis*).¹ *Illāi* gave *lei* (dialectically *le*) *liei*. *Illas* became *elas elhas*.

(2) In the feminine singular nominative there is, beside *ela elha*, a form *ilh il*. This is probably to be explained, like the feminine article *lhi li*, as coming from the masculine nominative **illi* introduced into the feminine, and supported by the feminine possessive *mi*: see § 118, (3).

(3) Some dialects preserve the final *-i* of *eli* (m. pl. nom.) and *ilhi ili* (f. sg. nom.): see § 51, 1.

(4) Occasionally the conjunctive *li* (f. sg. obj.) and *lo* (neuter sg. nom.) were used as disjunctive forms. And sometimes the masculine *lūi lū* was used for the feminine.

(5) The forms are, therefore, the following:—

	MASCULINE	FEMININE	NEUTER
Sg. { <i>nom.</i> :	<i>el eū elh il ilh</i>	<i>ela elha ilh il ilhi ili</i>	<i>el lo</i>
<i>obj.</i> :	<i>lūi lū el elh</i>	<i>leis lieis lieis lei liei le</i>	<i>ela li lūi lū o</i>
Pl. { <i>nom.</i> :	<i>il ilh el elh eli</i>	<i>elas elhas</i>	
<i>obj.</i> :	<i>lor lūr els eus elhs</i>	<i>lor lūr elas elhas</i>	

In many texts the objective forms *els elhs*, *leis lei* are used

¹Cf. Thomas in *Rom.*, XII, 334; Meyer-Lübke in *Gram.*, II, page 104. For a different explanation, see Ascoli in *Archivio glottologico italiano*, XV, 314, 396.

in the nominative. We then find occasionally a new objective, *elses*.

POSSESSIVES.

126. Beside *měus mēa, tūus tūa, sūus sūa*, there existed in popular Latin the shorter forms **mēs?* **ma*, **tūs* **ta*, *sūs sa*. Of the two forms *vēster* and *vōster*, only the latter was used. To supply the lack of a third person possessive denoting a plural possessor, *illōrum* came to be employed as a possessive.

SINGULAR POSSESSIVE.

127. (1) The primarily atonic possessives come from the shorter Latin forms. The original masculine singular forms of the first person were displaced by *mōs mō*, made on the analogy of *tōs tō*, *sōs sō*, which come regularly from **tūs* **tūm*, *sūs*, *sūm*; so in the objective plural we find *mōs*, corresponding to *tōs* < **tōs*, *sōs* < *sōs*. *Mēi, tūi, sūi* gave *mēi, tōi tūi, sōi sūi* (§34), which, however, were often replaced by the objective forms. **Ma* **mam* **mas*, **ta* **tam* **tas*, *sa sam sas* became *ma mas*, *ta tas*, *sa sas*; *ma*, *ta*, *sa* often elided their *a* before a vowel. The formation of *midons* has been explained in §91, (2); §93, (2); §118, (3): from it came a feminine singular possessive *mi*, and, by analogy, *ti* and *si*.

(2) The forms are:—

	FIRST PERSON			SECOND PERSON			THIRD PERSON		
Sg.	<i>nom.</i> :	<i>mōs</i>	<i>ma mi</i>	<i>tōs</i>		<i>ta ti</i>	<i>sōs</i>		<i>sa si</i>
	<i>obj.</i> :	<i>mō mōn</i>	<i>ma mi</i>	<i>tō tōn</i>		<i>ta ti</i>	<i>sō sōn</i>		<i>sa si</i>
Pl.	<i>nom.</i> :	<i>mēi mōs mas</i>		<i>tōi tūi tōs tas</i>		<i>sōi sūi sōs sas</i>			
	<i>obj.</i> :	<i>mōs mas</i>		<i>tōs tas</i>		<i>sōs sas</i>			

They are generally used only adjectively, and without the definite article. In some early texts, however, *tōs* and *sōs*, preceded by the article, are used substantively.

128. (1) The primarily tonic possessives come from the longer Latin forms. *Měus mēum mēi mēos* > *mēus mēu mēi mēus*, which regularly became *mięus* etc. (§30); an analogical form *mięu* is found beside *mięi*. In the feminine of the first person we have, instead of **męa*, *mięua* and *mia*: the first of these two forms is evidently made up from the masculine; the second may be due partly to the analogy of *mi*, partly to a proclitic use of the word (§44; 4).¹ In the second and third persons the masculine forms are mainly, and the feminine forms partially, replaced by analogical formations based on the possessive of the first person; *tũi, sũi, tũa, sũa*, however, give regularly *toi tũi, soi sũi, toa tua, soa sua* (§8).

(2) The forms follow, those of the third person (which correspond exactly to those of the second) being omitted:—

FIRST PERSON

Sg.	{ <i>nom.</i> : <i>męus mięus</i>	<i>mia mięua</i>
	{ <i>obj.</i> : <i>męu mięu</i>	<i>mia mięua</i>
Pl.	{ <i>nom.</i> : <i>męi mięi mięu</i>	<i>mias mięuas</i>
	{ <i>obj.</i> : <i>męus mięus</i>	<i>mias mięuas</i>

SECOND PERSON

Sg.	{ <i>nom.</i> : <i>tęus tięus</i>	<i>toa tua tięua tia</i>
	{ <i>obj.</i> : <i>tęu tięu</i>	<i>toa tua tięua tia</i>
Pl.	{ <i>nom.</i> : <i>toi tũi tẹi tięi tięu</i>	<i>toas tuas tięuas tias</i>
	{ <i>obj.</i> : <i>tęus tięus</i>	<i>toas tuas tięuas tias</i>

They may be used adjectively or substantively, with or without the definite article.

1. We occasionally find a neuter sg. nom. form without final *-s*: *lo mieu*.

PLURAL POSSESSOR.

129. *Nõster, võster* developed regularly after the *pauper*

¹ For a different explanation of *mia*, see *Gram.*, I, pp. 246–248; also Horning in *Zs.*, XXV, 341. Cf. Fr. *moie*.

model: § 103, (1). The masculine singular nominative often took an -s: cf. § 96; § 101, (1). Some southeastern dialects preserved the -i of *noſtri*: cf. § 51, 1. Beside *voſtra* we occasionally meet *voſtri*, due to the analogy of feminine *mi*, *ti*, *ſi*.

	FIRST PERSON		SECOND PERSON		THIRD PERSON	
Sg.	<i>nom.</i> :	noſtre-s noſtra	voſtre-s voſtra	voſtri	loſ lür	loſ lür
	<i>obj.</i> :	noſtre noſtra	voſtre voſtra	voſtri	loſ lür	loſ lür
Pl.	<i>nom.</i> :	noſtre noſtri noſtras	voſtre voſtras		loſ lür	loſ lür
	<i>obj.</i> :	noſtres noſtras	vostres voſtras		loſ lür	loſ lür

These forms are used adjectively or substantively, with or without the definite article.

1. In later times *lor* came to be inflected like a one-gender adjective: § 103, (2).

DEMONSTRATIVES.

130. Latin *idem* went out of use. Latin *is* was preserved only in the phrase *id ipſum* (*ad id ipſum* > *adeş*), and in the combination *ēccum*, in which it ceased to be recognized, so that *ēccu*' was regarded as a synonym of *ēcce*.

131. (1) The demonstrative particles *ēcce* and *ēccu*' were often prefixed to pronouns in Vulgar Latin. Being thus proclitically used, they frequently lost their first syllable (§ 19); sometimes, however, under the influence of *ac* (as in *ac ſic* > *aissi*), they preserved it, assuming the vowel of *ac*: *ēcce illa* > *aicēla*, *ēccu' iſta* > *aqueſta*; cf. § 43, (2).

(2) The suffix *-met* was used in Vulgar Latin as an intensive prefix. Its change of place was probably due to such phrases as *ſēmet ipſum*, understood as *ſē metipſum*. The *-t*, before a vowel, regularly gives *-d-* (*met-ipſum* > *medeſ*); but we find, besides, *-z-* (< Lat. *d*), introduced perhaps through the analogy of *id* in *id ipſum* (**medipſum* > *mezeis*); and also

-t- (< Lat. *tt*), which may be the result of a combination of *met-* and *id-* (*met-id-ipsu* > **metdīpsu* > *meteis*).

132. The pronouns preserved, either in their simple form or combined with a prefix, are the following: —

(1) Of *hic* only the neuter, *hōc*, was kept. *Hōc* > *o*; *ecce hōc* > *aico aisso*, and *ço so*; *eccu' hōc* > *aquō aço*. All of these are invariable.

(2) *Ipse* appears as *eps epsa*, *eus eussa*, *eis eissa* (with a m. pl. *eisses* and a neuter *eis*); the last forms are the commonest; for the development of the *ps*, see §79 and §80, Ps. *Met-ipse* gives (*medips*) *medes*, (*meteish*) *meteis*, and, more commonly, *mezeis* (f. *mezeissa*, neuter *mezeis*); see §131, (2). **Met-ipsimus* becomes *medesme-s*, *mesesme-s*, *meesme-s* (§65, D), with feminine forms in -a. Unaccented *ipsu* is probably one source of the neuter *so*: cf. §132, (1). For the article (*so*, *sa*), see §119.

(3) *Ille*, uncombined, developed into an article (§118) and a personal pronoun (§§123, 125), but went out of use as a demonstrative. Combined with *ecce* and *eccu'* it gave: *aicel aissel*, *cel*, *sel*; *aquel*. *Echel* (pronounced *ekel*?) seems to come from *eccu' ille* with its original initial vowel preserved. *Ipse ille* perhaps gave rise also to a *sel*, which ultimately coincided with the form coming from *ecce ille*. There is a neuter *aicelo*, perhaps *aicel* + *o*. *Cel* will illustrate the inflection of all these words; the forms are to be explained like those of the disjunctive personal pronoun (§125): —

	MASCULINE	FEMININE
Sg. { <i>nom.</i> :	<i>cel çeu çelh çels</i> ¹ <i>cellüi çela çelha cil cilh cilha</i> ²	
{ <i>obj.</i> :	<i>cel çeu çelh cellüi</i>	<i>çela çelha celçi celeis celiçis cilh</i>

¹ *Cels* shows the influence of masculine nouns and adjectives.

² *Aquel* has also *aquilli*. *Cilha* is evidently a combination of *cilh* and *celha*.

	MASCULINE	FEMININE
Pl.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{nom.: cil cilh celh çels}^1 \\ \text{obj.: çels çelhs}^2 \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{celas çelhas} \\ \text{çelas çelhas} \end{array} \right.$

(4) *Iste* gave *est*, *estz*, *esta*, *estas*. *Ecce iste* became *aicest* (not common) and *cest sest*; *eccu' iste* became *aquest echest*, and *chest*. *Aquest* will illustrate the inflection; the forms are to be explained like those of *çel*: —

	MASCULINE	FEMININE
Sg.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{nom.: aquest} \\ \text{obj.: aquest} \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{aquesta aquist aquisti} \\ \text{aquesta} \end{array} \right.$
Pl.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{nom.: aquist aquisti} \\ \text{obj.: aquestz aquetz} \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{aquestas} \\ \text{aquestas} \end{array} \right.$

INTERROGATIVES AND RELATIVES.

133. The interrogative and relative pronouns were confused and combined in Vulgar Latin, *quī* taking the place of *quīs*, and *quīd* gradually encroaching on *quōd*. Furthermore, the masculine forms were used instead of the feminine, which disappeared. We have in Provençal no evidence of the survival of any other cases than the nominative, dative, and accusative singular and the nominative plural: —

	MASCULINE AND FEMININE	NEUTER
Sg.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{nom.: quī} > \text{qui} \\ \text{dat.: cūi} > \text{cūi} \\ \text{acc.: quēm} > \text{que} \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{quīd} > \text{que, (before vowel) quez} \\ \text{cūi} > \text{cūi} \\ \text{quīd} > \text{que, (before vowel) quez} \end{array} \right.$
Pl.,	$\text{nom.: quī} > \text{qui}$	$\text{quē} > \text{que}$

The distinction between *que* < *quēm*, *que* *quez* < *quīd*, and *que* < *quē* could not be maintained; we have, then, simply three forms: a nom. sg. or pl. *qui*, a nom.-acc. sg. or pl. *que* (*quez*), a dat. sg. or pl. *cūi* (sometimes written *qui*).

¹ *Aquel* has also *aqueli*.

² *Aquel* has also *aquelz* and *aquelses*.

134. We have also *qualis*, which came to be inflected like *fezels*: see § 103, (2); the feminine singular, however, often dropped its -s, and sometimes took the ending -a (*cal*, *cala*). *Quinam* apparently became *quina*, which, understood as a feminine form, developed a masculine, *quin*. There seems to have been also a **quiniam* (cf. *quõniam*?), which gave *quinh*, *quina*. Cf. D. Behrens in the *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache*, XVII, ii, 67-8, footnote. The phrase *de ünde* became *dont*, *dõn*, which was often used with the meaning 'of which', 'of whom'.

135. (1) In Provençal the interrogative pronouns are: *qui*, 'who' or 'whom'; *que quez*, 'what'; *cüi*, 'to whom' or 'whom', 'to what' or 'what' (obj.); *cals* (either alone or preceded by the definite article, inflected as in § 134), 'which'; *quin quinh*, *quina quinha*, 'which'. *Cals* is used also as an adjective.

(2) The relative pronouns are: *qui*, 'one who', indefinite (used also, in early texts and in southwestern Languedoc, as the regular relative pronoun for persons); *que quez*, 'who' or 'whom', 'which'; *cüi*, 'whom', 'which' (generally used as indirect object of a verb, or after a preposition); *lo cals* (inflected as in § 134), 'who' ('whom'), 'which'; *don dont*, 'of which', 'of whom'.

INDEFINITE PRONOUNS AND ADJECTIVES.

136. The following words call for special mention: —

(1) *Alcüs* < **aliqui* *ünus* = *aliqui ünus*, 'someone'. Inflection: *alcüs*, *alcü(n)*; *alcüna*.

(2) *Alquant* < *aliquantum*, *aliquanti*, 'somewhat', 'some'; diminutive, *alquantet*.

(3) *Alques alque* < *aliquid*, used as an invariable neuter

pronoun or adverb, 'something', 'somewhat'. The -s form, which originally developed before a vowel, was preferred because of the analogy of other neuter pronouns and adverbs. The preservation of the e is due to association with *quez que*. *Alque* was sometimes used as an adjective.

(4) **Als al au**, used as an invariable neuter pronoun, 'something else'. *Al (au)* may have been detached from *alques*, understood as *al ques*. Meyer-Lübke, however, takes it, as well as Old French *el*, from **alum = aliud*: *Gram.*, II, p. 649. *Als* owes its -s to the analogy of other neuter pronouns, such as *alques*, *eis*, *mais*, *melhs*, *mens*, *peis*, etc.

(5) **Altre autre** < *alter*, 'other', pronoun and adjective. A dative **altrūi*, following *illūi*, goes back to Vulgar Latin. The Provençal forms *autrūs*, *autrū* show the influence of *alcūs* and *negūs*; *autri* belongs to the southeastern dialects (cf. *aqueli*, *eli*, *noſtri*, *tüti*, etc.). Inflection:—

	MASCULINE	FEMININE
Sg.	<i>nom.</i> : autre autres autrūs <i>obj.</i> : autre autrūi autrū	autra autra
Pl.	<i>nom.</i> : autre autri <i>obj.</i> : autres	autras autras

(6) **Altretals autretals** < *alter talis*; by dissimilation, **atre-tals**: by substitution of *ai-* (first syllable of *aissi* < *ac sic*) for *atre-*, **aitals**; by fusion of *aitals* and *atretals*, **aitretals**; through analogy of *atressi*, **atrestals**. Cf. § 74, 2. Inflection like that of *cals* (§ 134).

(7) **Altretan atretan aitan atrestan** etc. < *alter + tantum*: see **altretals**.

(8) **Cada un** < *κατά + ūnum*, 'every one'. The Greek preposition *κατά* was introduced into the Latin territory, probably by Greek merchants, in stating prices: *καθ' ἑνα = cata ūnum*,

carà trêis = *cata trēs*; hence *cada ün*, *cada treï*. Inflection: *cada üs*, *cada ü(n)*; *cada üna*.

(9) *Calacom qualacom qualaquom*, 'something', 'a little', seems to be a Provençal compound of *cal* and *aco* (§ 132), the last syllable of which was perhaps understood as *com co* < *quōmō(do)*. Cf. *quezacom* below. There is a diminutive *calacomet*, which helped to maintain the *m* of *calacom*.

(10) *Cals que quals que, cal que qual que*, 'whoever', is a Provençal compound.

(11) *Cant quant can quan* < *quantum quanti*, 'how much', 'how many'. *Cant*, inflected like *bēl* (§ 103), is used also as an adjective and as a masculine and feminine pronoun.

(12) *Cascüs chascüs*, 'everyone', 'every', appears to be a fusion of *cada üs* and **cescüs* < **cisqu' ünus* = *quisque ünus* = *ünus quĩsque*. Inflection: *cascüs*, *cascü(n)*; *cascüna*.

(13) *Ent en n ne* < *inde*, 'some': cf. § 123.

(14) *Maint mant man manh* < Celtic **mantĩ*, 'many', 'many a', 'many a one'. Obj. pl. in *-s*, f. sg. in *-a*, f. pl. in *-as*.

(15) *Molt mout mot mul mon* < *mũltum*, 'much'. For *mõt*, *mul*, *mõn*, see § 74, (2) and § 74, 1. *Molt*, inflected like *bēl* (§ 103), is used also as an adjective and as a masculine and feminine pronoun.

(16) *Negüs* < *nēc ünus*, 'no one'. Inflection: *negüs*, *negü(n)*; *negüna*. Beside *negün* we find *degün*, apparently through dissimilation.

(17) *Nüls* < *nũllus*, 'no', 'none'. Inflection: *nüls*, *nül*, *nül nülh*, *nüls*; *nüla*, *nülas*. From *nũlh* < *nũlli* comes a set of forms with *lh*: see § 67, (2). Hence, by metathesis suggested by the analogy of *negün*, *lhün*. A fusion of *nülh* and *lhün* results in *lünh*, whence a set of forms with *nh*.

(18) *Om* < *hōmo*, 'one'.

(19) **Pauc** < *paucum*, *pauci*, 'little', 'few'. There is also a regular adjective, *paucs*, 'small'.

(20) **Que que**, 'whatever', is a Provençal compound.

(21) **Quecs** < *quisquis* (§ 78, 2), 'everyone'. From *quecs* were formed an objective *quec* and a feminine *quega* (cf. *amics amic amiga*).

(22) **Quesacom** (diminutive *quesacomet*), 'something', 'a little', is formed like *calacom* above, the first element in this case being either *ques* < *quid* or *que s* = *que es*.

(23) **Qui que**, 'whoever', is a Provençal compound.

(24) **Res re**, 'anything', 'something'.

(25) **Tals** < *talis*, 'such', inflected like *cals* (§ 134).

(26) **Tamanh** < *tam magnum*, 'so great'; f. *tamanha*.

(27) **Tant tan ta** < *tantum*, *tanti*, 'so much', 'so many'. *Tant*, inflected like *bèl* (§ 103), is used also as an adjective and as a masculine and feminine pronoun.

(28) **Totz** < *tōttus* = *tōtus* (*Gram.*, I, § 547), 'all', had a regular inflection: *tōtz*, *tōt*, *tōt*, *tōtz*; *tōta*, *tōtas*. In the masculine nominative plural, however, we find oftener the forms *tüch tüich tüit tüt tüti*, which point to a Latin **tūcti* (cf. Italian *tutti*); for this no satisfactory explanation has been discovered (see Nigra, *Rom.*, XXXI, 525). Hence we occasionally have in the singular *tütz*, *tüt*, and in the objective plural *tügüz tütüz*; the last form occurs also as a nominative plural. *Tōt* is frequently used as a neuter pronoun and as an adverb.

(29) **Üs**, 'some'; from *ūnus*, used as an indefinite adjective or pronoun, we have the plural forms: *ü(n)*, *ü(n)s*; *ünas*.

2. CONJUGATION.

THE FOUR CONJUGATIONS.

137. (1) In Vulgar Latin there were some shifts, the verbs of the second and third conjugations being particularly unstable: *cadĕre*, *capĕre*, *sapĕre*, for instance, often passed into the second, while *mōvēre*, *ridĕre* frequently followed the third, and *mōri*, *sĕqui* usually went into the fourth. *Pōsse*, *vĕlle*, with the new infinitives **potĕre*, **volĕre*, were made to conform with more or less regularity to the second conjugation type. Beside *do*, *dant*, *sto*, *stant*, there came into use the forms **dao*, **daunt*, **stao*, **staunt*. Beside *facĕre* there doubtless existed a verb **fare*,¹ strongly influenced by *dare* and *stare*; the first suggestion of shortening probably came from the monosyllabic imperative singular *fac* (or *fa*²), which must have led to a plural **fate* beside *facĕte*. *Habĕre* and *vadĕre*³ also came under the influence of *dare* and *stare*; the former adopted, beside *habeo*, *habes*, *habet*, *habent*, the forms **ho*, **has*, **hat*, **hant* or **haunt*. *Vadĕre* generally lost its past tenses, which were replaced by *īre* and, in southern Gaul, by *annare*.⁴

(2) In Provençal the first conjugation was well preserved, and the fourth lost but little. The second and the third lost many verbs (especially learned words) to the fourth: *delir*, *emplir*, *envazir*, *espanzir*, *fugir*, *iauzir*, *merir*, *regir*, *relinquir*, *reluzir*, *vertir*;⁵ *cozer* *cozir* < *consuĕre*,⁶ *devire* *devezir* < *dividĕre*, *dire* *dir* < *dicĕre*, *leire* *legir* (also *lire* *lir*) < *lēgĕre*, *querre* *querir* < *quærĕre*, *segre* *seguir* < *sĕqui*, *tenĕre* < *tenĕre*. More-

¹ See G. Rydberg, *Le développement de facere dans les langues romanes*, 1893.

² See A. Zimmermann in *Zs.*, XXV, 735.

³ See C. C. Rice in *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XIX, 217.

⁴ Cf. § 138.

⁵ Cf. § 72, Sw.

⁶ According to Raimon Vidal, a 13th century grammarian, *tenir* is French

over, the second and third conjugations, which in Provençal differed practically only in the infinitive, were much confused: *caber*, *cazer*, *mordre*, *rire*, *saber*; *corre* *accorre*, *mentaver* *mentaure* < *mente habere*, *mover* *moure*, *querre* *querer*, *redebre* *rezemer* < *redimere*. Uc Faidit, a 13th century grammarian, enumerates about 500 verbs in -ar, about 100 in -er and -re, and a little over 100 in -ir.

138. The inchoative ending -*scere* lost its original sense. The -*isc-* type, for verbs of the fourth conjugation, was very widely extended, the -*isc-* becoming a part of the regular present stem of the fourth conjugation, and disappearing from the infinitive: *finire*, **finisco* > *finir*, *finisc*. An obscure substitute for the Latin -*esc-* type produced an ending -*eissir* -*ezir* -*zir* (*dis-pigrēscere* = *despereissir*, *evanēscere* = *envanezir*¹), which was used in forming some new verbs: *enfolezir* < *fol*, *envelhezir* < *velh*, *envelzir* < *vil*, *esclarzir* < *clar*, *escürzir* < *escür* *oscür*, *espaorzir* < *paor*.² The -*āsc-* and -*ōsc-* types appear in old verbs: *irāscere* > *iráisser*, *co(g)nōscere* > *conçoisser*.³

139. New verbs were formed, in late Vulgar Latin and in Provençal, only in the first and fourth conjugations. The commonest suffixes were -*āre*, -*iāre*, -*icāre*, -*idiāre* (< -*īlav*: § 57, Z), -*īre*: **oblītāre* > *oblidar*, **altiāre* > *aussar*, **carriāre* > *cargar*, **werridiāre* > *guerreiar*, **abbellire* > *abelir*. Germanic verbs generally went into the first conjugation, except those in -*jan*, most of which entered the fourth: *roubōn* > *raubar* (also *raubir*), *wītan* > *guidar*; *furbjan* > *forbir*.

¹ *Esvanuir* seems to come from the perfect, *evanui*.

² *Enfolhetir* shows the influence of *follet*.

³ For two different explanations of this ending, see A. Thomas, *Essais de philologie française*, 25, 281; E. Herzog, in *Bausteine zur romanischen Philologie*, 481.

⁴ See K. Sittl in *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik*, 1, 465.

FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES IN INFLECTION.

140. The Latin perfect passive took the sense of a present; *amātus est*, for instance, under the influence of such phrases as *carus est*, came to mean 'he is loved'. This led to the establishment of an entire passive inflection made up of the perfect participle and the parts of the verb *ēsse*; and the old passive forms were gradually abandoned, leaving no trace (save the perfect participle and possibly the gerundive) in the Romance languages. So the passive is constructed in Provençal as in French: *es amatz, era amatz, fo amatz, será amatz*, etc.; the participle regularly agrees with the subject in gender and number. Latin deponent verbs became active: *mōri* > *morir*, *sēqui* > *seguir*.

141. (1) Such phrases as *id habeo factum* shifted their meaning from 'I have it done', etc., to 'I have done it', etc. The Latin perfect came to be restricted to its aorist sense, and the perfect was expressed by compounds of *habēre* with the perfect participle. In the Romance languages all compound tenses were eventually formed in this way: *ai cantat, avia cantat, aurai cantat*, etc. In Provençal the auxiliary is sometimes *esser*, instead of *aver*, if the main verb is reflexive, passive, or neuter; *esser* is particularly common with neuter verbs of motion: *soi vengütz*.¹ A participle used with *aver* may agree in gender and number with the direct object, if there is one: *ai cantat or cantada la canso*.

(2) The Latin perfect indicative continued to be used as an aorist, and is the source of the preterit in Provençal, as in

¹ For *ai estat* we sometimes find *soi agutz*. The confusion arises perhaps from the use of both *es* and *a* in the sense of 'there is': hence *es estat* = *a agut*; and by a mixture of the two, *es agut*. Cf. L. Gauchat, *Sone avuto*, in *Scritti vari di filologia* (dedicated to E. Monaci), 1901, p. 61.

the other Romance languages: *vīdī* > *vi*, 'I saw'. The pluperfect indicative survived in some regions; in Provençal it is used with the sense of a conditional: *fūērat* > *fora*, 'he would be'. The future perfect indicative and the perfect subjunctive did not remain in Provençal: *amavēro* = *aurai amat*, *amavērim* = *aia amat*. The pluperfect subjunctive assumed the functions of the imperfect, which disappeared from nearly every part of the Romance territory: *audīssem* (for *audīrem*) > *auzis*. The perfect infinitive left no trace: *audīsse* = *aver auzit*.

142. The Latin future, which was not uniform in the four conjugations, and, in the third and fourth, was liable to confusion with the present subjunctive, was gradually replaced by various periphrastic constructions: instead of *faciam* people said *factūrus sum*, *dēbeo facēre*, *vōlo facēre*, *habeo (ad) facēre*, etc. The construction that prevailed in the greater part of the Empire was *facēre habeo*, a combination of the infinitive with the present indicative of *habēre*. The verb *ēsse* was the only one that ultimately retained the old future beside the new: Pr. *ēr*, *ērs*, *ēr*, beside *serái* *serás* *será*; in the plural, only *serēm*, *serētz*, *serán*. The new composite future was occasionally used by Tertullian, St. Jerome, and St. Augustine, and became common in Italy by the 6th century.¹

(2) As an imperfect of the future, there was evolved a combination of the infinitive and the imperfect or perfect indicative. To correspond to *dicit quod venīre habet*, was constructed *dixit quōd venīre habēbat* (or *habuit*); to match *sī pōssum, venīre habeo*, was made *sī potuīssem, venīre habēbam* (or *habuī*). In Gaul, as in most of the Empire, only the imperfect of *habēre* was used for this purpose. Traces of such

¹ Cf. P. Thielmann, *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik*, II, 48 and 157.

a construction are found as early as the 3d century. This form is generally called the *conditional*, and it existed in Provençal side by side with the conditional described in § 141, (2): *sería, serías, sería*, etc., beside *fora, foras, fora*, etc. The Romance languages developed also a perfect conditional: *auría agüt* = 'I should have had'.

143. (1) The present participle remained in use as an adjective: *fílias placentes* > *filhas plazens*; cf. § 101, (3). In its verbal function it was replaced by the ablative of the gerund: *vēnit accurrens* > *vēnit accurrendo* > *ven acorren*. In most Provençal dialects, however, the present participle and the gerund coincided in form (*amantem* and *amando* both > *amán*), the gerund being distinguished from the participle only by its lack of inflection: see § 76, (2).

(2) The gerund retained only the ablative case, the use of which was considerably extended: see above. In its other cases it was replaced by the infinitive: *artem dicendi* > *artem dicere* > *art de dire*. The supine, too, was replaced by the infinitive: *vīsum vēnit nōs* > *vēnit nōs vīdere* > *ven nos (a) vezer*.

INFINITIVE, PRESENT PARTICIPLE, AND GERUND.

144. The infinitive endings *-āre, -ēre, -īre* regularly became *-ar, -er, -ir*; *-ēre* became *-re* or *-er*: see § 48, (1) and § 52, (1). Ex.: *amāre* > *amár*, *vīdere* > *vezer*, *audire* > *auzir*; *tōllere* > *tōltre*, *nascere* > *náisser*, *dicere* > *dire dízer*. For shifts of conjugation, see § 137.

1. The fourth conjugation verbs *enautir, gauzir, grazir, murir, servir* sometimes took a final *e* by the analogy of *devire* (< *dividere*), *dire, rīre*. On the other hand, *dire* occasionally lost its *-e* by the analogy of the fourth conjugation. *Līre* for *leire* (< *lēgere*) is probably French, and *lir* is to be explained like *dir*.

2. *Far* beside *faire* doubtless comes from **fare* = *facère*: see § 137, (1). *Trar* beside *traire* (< **tragère*) follows *far*.

3. *Escriure* (< *scribère*) sometimes became *escrire* through the analogy of *dire*.

4. Some verbs that passed from the second to the third conjugation preserved the old infinitive as a noun: *debère* > *deure* *devér*, *placère* > *plaire* *plazér*.

145. The endings *-antem -ando*, *-ëntem -ëndo* regularly became *-an* or *-ant*, *-en* or *-ent*: § 76, (2). See § 143, (1). The endings *-iëntem -iëndo* lost their *i* in Vulgar Latin (§ 40, 1), and were thus reduced to *-entem -endo*. Ex.: *amantem amando* > *amán* (or *amánt*), *vidëntem vidëndo* > *vezén* (or *vezént*), *credëntem credëndo* > *crezén* (or *crezént*); *sapiëntem sapiëndo* > **sapëntem* **sapëndo* > *sabén* (or *sabént*), *partiëntem partiëndo* > **par:ientem* **partendo* > *partén* (or *partént*). Fourth conjugation verbs which adopted the inchoative *-sc-* (§ 138), generally introduced it into the present participle and the gerund: *florir*, *florissén*. Cf. § 155. For the declension of the present participle, see § 101, (3).

PAST PARTICIPLE.

146. The Provençal past participle comes from the Latin perfect participle. It is to be noted that verbs which originally had no perfect participle were obliged to create one in order to form their compound tenses: see § 141, (1). Past participles in Provençal, when inflected, were declined like *bèl*: §§ 102; 102, 1; 103, (1). See § 141, (1).

147. In the first and fourth conjugations the endings were *-ātum* and *-itum*, which regularly became *-at* and *-it*: *cantātum* > *cantát*, *finitum* > *fenít*. The first conjugation verbs which had a form in *-itum* discarded it for *-ātum*: *crepāre* *crepītum* = *crebár* *crebát*. On the other hand, *aperire* and

operire preserved their participle in *-ertum*: *cubrir* (< *cooperire*), *cubert* (also *cubrit*); *ubrir* (< *aperire* + *cooperire*), *ubert*. By the analogy of these, *sufrir* (< *sufferre*) and *ufrir* (< *offerre*) have *sufert* (also *sufrit*), *ufert*. *Tener tenir* keeps its Provençal second conjugation ending, *tengüt* (see § 148); and *venir*, following the analogy of *tenir*, has *vengüt*.

148. (1) Most Latin verbs of the second and third conjugations had no accented ending, but a few had an ending *-ütum*, which corresponded very well to the *-ätum* and *-itum* of the first and fourth: *arguere, argütum*; *consuere, consütum*; *sequi, secütum*; *solvere, solütum*; *volvère, volütum*. This ending was considerably extended in Vulgar Latin, especially to verbs having a perfect in *-üi*: *habere, habüi, habütum* * *habütum*. In Provençal it spread still further: *cazer, cazeç, cazeгүй*. Inasmuch as it was closely associated with the perfect, it came to be attached, more and more frequently, to the stem of that tense.

(2) Of the Provençal verbs of the second and third conjugations, about half adopted the ending *-üt*. In some the *-üt* is added to the stem of the infinitive: *crezüt, defendüt, escondüt, molüt, perdüt, resemüt, respondüt, rompüt, vendüt, vezüt veüt*. Most of the verbs, however, attach the *-üt* to the stem of the preterit; *nasc, nascüt*; *pasc, pascüt*; *tems, temsüt*; *tesc, tescüt*; *venc, vencüt* (from *venser*); *visc, viscüt*. A few have both forms: *agüt avüt*; *cazegüt cazüt*; *vengüt venüt*. It is to be noted, in the case of verbs that add *-üt* to the preterit, that if the third person singular of the preterit ends in a voiceless consonant preceded by a vowel or *l* or *n*, that consonant is voiced in the participle: *ac, agüt*; *bec, begüt*; *cazeç, cazegüt*; *conoc, conogüt*; *creç, cregüt*; *deç, degüt*; *eleç, elegüt*; *moc, mogüt*; *noc, nogüt*; *plac, plagüt*; *ploc, plogüt*; *poc, pogüt*; *remas, remazüt*; *saup, saubüt*; *seç, següt*; *tenc, tengüt*.

güt; tolç, tolgüt; valc, valgüt; vënc, vengüt (from venir); volc, volgüt. Exceptions are ceupüt, saupüt (beside saubüt), and vëncüt (from vënsen): for ceupüt, saupüt, cf. § 65, P, 3; in vëncüt the c was perhaps kept to distinguish the word from vengüt (venir).

(3) The other half of the second and third conjugation verbs generally preserved the old participle with no accented ending: ars, ceïng, claus, dich, düit, estreït, fach, ioinch, mës, onh, post, prës, trach, etc. Some of these have also forms in -üt: defës defendüt, elig esleït elegüt, escos escondüt, mout molüt, nat nascüt, remas remazüt, rot rompüt, vis vezüt. A few verbs made up new forms without a stressed ending: conquerre, conquës conquis; redemer rezemer, redems (rezemüt); sorger, sors; tolre, tolt tout; vezer, vist (vis vezüt veüt); volvre, vout. *Mittëre* probably had beside *mīssum* a form **mīsum* (cf. *mīsi*); hence metre, mës mis. By the analogy of this, prendre has beside prës a form pris. *Êstre* borrowed *estát* from *estar* < *stare*. *Escrui*t, from *escriure*, is probably influenced by the infinitive; *escrich* follows *dich*. So, probably, does *elig* = *esleït*, from *elegir* *eslire* *eslir*.

1. For *sai agütz* (= *ai estat*), which is found not only in some Provençal dialects, but also in southeastern France, French Switzerland, and parts of northern Italy, see § 141, (1), footnote 1.

FUTURE AND NEW CONDITIONAL.

149. For the formation of these parts, see § 142, (1), (2). Ex.: amarái, creïsserái, florirái. Verbs of the second conjugation regularly, and verbs of the fourth very often, syncopate the e or i of the infinitive: remanrái, volrás; partrái, venría. Third conjugation infinitives with final e drop this e before the ending; those in -er keep the e: vëndre, vendrái; náisser, naisserái. First conjugation infinitives regularly keep the a

(§ 45), but in a few texts (especially the *Girart* and the *Rasos de trobar*) the *a* is changed to *e*: cantarái, sonaríá, trobarem; blasmerán, comterá.

1. *Esser* keeps the old future forms *er, ers, er*, beside *serái, serás, serd* (*serém, seréltz, serán*).

150. For the phonetic changes exemplified in *auría, deurái, mourá; plairía; cairá, veirái; valdrái; remandrém, tendríá; poiría*, see § 70, *βr, C'r, Dr, Lr, Nr, Tr*. *Anar* (<*annāre*) has beside *anarái* a form *irái* from *ir* (<*īre*). *Esser* drops its first syllable (*serái*), perhaps through elision (*tu'sserás*, etc.), perhaps in accordance with the general principle stated in § 19. *Faire far* always makes its future and conditional from the latter form (*farái*). *Saber* has beside *sabrái* a form *sau-brái*, due no doubt to the combined influence of *aurái* and the preterit *saup* < *sapuit*. *Vezer*, following the analogy of *beurái, deurái, viurái*, has *veurái* beside the regular *veirái*.

151. The composite nature of the future and conditional was still sufficiently felt, in the literary period, to admit of the separation of the component parts: *amar vos ái, dar n'etz, donar lo t'ái, tornar nos em, tornar s'en ía*.

FUTURE ENDINGS.

152. For the 1st pers. sg., the Provençal verb used the form **ayo* > *ai* (§ 73, *βy*); for the 2d and 3d pers. sg. and the 3d pers. pl., the forms **has* > *as*, **hat* > *a* (§ 82, *T*), **hant* **haunt* > *an aun* (§ 83, *Nt*): see § 137, (1). In the 1st and 2d pers. pl., *habēmu'* (§ 82, *S, 2*), *habētis* naturally gave *avem, avetz* (§ 64); but inasmuch as the other four terminations were monosyllabic, the *av-* was dropped when *avem, avetz* came to be understood merely as future endings. The future is, therefore, inflected as follows:—

cantar-ái	cantar-ëm
cantar-ás	cantar-etz, -es, -et
cantar-á	cantar-án, -ánt, -áun, -áu

1. In Gascony and Languedoc we find -ei for -ai: see §§23, 2; 162, (4). In Gascon and in the modern dialects of some other regions -am is used for ëm. In some dialects of Béarn, Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphiné, -ëm becomes -en: cf. § 65, M, 1; also § 167, 2.

CONDITIONAL ENDINGS.

153. *Habēbam* > aβēβa > (probably through dissimilation: § 87, β) aβēa > avía (§ 26); so avías, avía, aviám, aviátz, avían. But inasmuch as the conditional was formed in imitation of the future, and none of the future forms retained the av-, the conditional endings were reduced to -ía, -ías, -iá, -iám, -iátz, -ían. Some dialects, which substituted -on for -an, introduced -ion into the conditional: § 169. The conditional is, therefore, inflected as follows:—

cantar-ía	cantar-iám
cantar-ías	cantar-iátz, -iás, -iát
cantar-ía	cantar-ían, -ion, -io

1. In verse these endings are sometimes counted as monosyllabic: poiriâ. Guiraut Riquier uses -iátz for -iátz. In some dialects of Béarn, Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphiné, -iám becomes -ián: cf. § 65, M, 1; also § 167, 2.

PRESENT.

154. The personal endings will be discussed separately in §§ 164-169.

155. The Provençal present indicative and subjunctive come, in the main, directly from the corresponding parts of the Latin verb:—

<i>amo</i> > am	<i>amāmu'</i> > amám	<i>faciam</i> > fassa	<i>faciāmu'</i> > fassám
<i>amas</i> > amas	<i>amātis</i> > amátz	<i>facias</i> > fassas	<i>faciātis</i> > fassátz
<i>amat</i> > ama	<i>amant</i> > áman	<i>faciat</i> > fassa	<i>faciant</i> > fássan

In the 4th conjugation, however, most verbs have adopted the originally inchoative *-sc-* (§ 138) and incorporated it into the inflection of the present, except in the 1st and 2d pers. pl. of the indicative:—

<i>florisco</i>	> florisc	<i>florēmu'</i>	> florēm ¹
<i>floriscis</i>	> florís florisses	<i>florētis</i>	> florētz ¹
<i>floriscit</i>	> florís	<i>floriscunt</i>	> floriscon
<i>floriscam</i>	> florísca	<i>floriscāmu'</i>	> floriscám
<i>floriscas</i>	> floriscas	<i>floriscātis</i>	> floriscátz
<i>floriscat</i>	> florísca	<i>floriscant</i>	> floriscan

We occasionally find such forms as *florissẽm*, *florissetz*, and *florám*, *florátz*.

1. The *s* coming from *sc'* was of course originally palatal; it is sometimes written *sh*. The *sc* of the 1st pers. sg., the 3d pers. pl., and the whole pres. subjunctive was replaced, in some dialects, by *s* or *sh*: *floris* *florish*, *florisson* *florishon*, *florissa* *florisha*.

156. Of the Latin imperative forms, only the present active, 2d pers. sg. and pl., remained in use. The Provençal verb kept the sg., but substituted for the pl. the 2d pers. pl. of the present indicative:—

<i>ama</i>	> ama	<i>tēne</i>	> ten	<i>crēde</i>	> crē
<i>amāte amātis</i>	> amátz	<i>tenēte tenētis</i>	> tenētz	<i>crēdīte *crēdītis</i> ²	> crezētz
<i>parti</i>	> part			<i>fīnīsce</i>	> finís
<i>partīte partītis</i>	> partētz ²			<i>fīnīte fīnītis</i>	> finētz ²

In negative commands the present subjunctive is generally used instead of the plural imperative, and sometimes the infinitive is employed instead of sg. or pl. The verbs *auzir*, *aver*, *dire*, *esser*, *saber*, *vezer*, *voler* regularly took their imperative forms from the present subjunctive: *áuias*, *digátz*, *veiátz*, etc.

¹ For the accented vowels in these forms, see §§ 167, 168.

² See § 168.

1 *Fait* < *factte* (beside *faitz*) seems to come directly from the Latin form.

2. Before *vos* the pl. drops final *-tz* (or *-t?*): *departe vos*, *vene vos*. *Ve vos* becomes *vems*; a fusion of *ve vos* and *ec* < *ecum* results in *vecvos*.

DOUBLE STEMS.

157. Differences in accentuation and in the environment of vowels or consonants regularly developed different stems in different parts of some verbs. For instance, *adjūtāre* > *aidar* (§ 45), while *adjūtāt* > *aiüda*.

158. Sometimes, as above, an intertonic vowel disappeared: *māndūcāre* > *maniar*, *mandūco* > **mandüc manüc*; **parabolāre* **pāraulāre* > *parlar*, **parabolāt* **paraulāt* > *paraula*. In such cases the shortened stem usually prevailed: *mania*, *parla*. But in *adjutare* the longer one was preferred: *aiüdar*.

159. (1) A vowel which breaks in one part of a verb may be unstressed, and therefore remain unbroken, in another part: *probāre* > *proar*, *pröbat* > *prueva*,³ **sequire* > *seguir*, **sēquit* > *siēc*.⁴ In such cases the phonetic development is generally undisturbed.

(2) A vowel which breaks in one part of a verb may, with different environment, remain unbroken even in another part in which it is stressed: **volere* > *voler*, **völeo* > *vuelh*, **völet* > *vøl*. If the breaking occurs in the 1st pers. sg., the phonetic development is regularly undisturbed; if it occurs in the 2d and 3d pers. sg., it is generally carried into the other forms in which the vowel is stressed: *cölligit* > *cueļh*, hence *cueļh* = *colligo*; *ēxit* > *iēis*, hence *iēc*, *iēccon*, *iēcsa*.

160. A consonant may be followed by *e* or *i*, and so pala-

³ See § 37.

⁴ See § 30.

talized, in one part of the verb, and not in another: **cadeo* > *chai*, **cadēmu'* > *chazem*; *dēbeo* > *dēch dei* (§ 73, βy), *dēbet* > *dēu*; *faciat* > *fassa*, *facēre* > *faire*; *fūgio* > *fūi*, *fugēre* > *fugir*; *jaceam* > *iassa*, *jacēre* > *iazer*¹; *placeāmu'* > *plassām*, *placēmu'* > *plazem*; *sapiam* > *sapcha*, *sapit* > *sap*; *tēneo* > *tenh*, *tēnet* > *ten*; *valeo* > *valh*, *vales* > *vals*; *vēniat* > *venha*, *venīre* > *venir*; *vīdeam* > *veja*, *vidētis* > *vezetz*; **vōleo* > *vuelh*, **vōlet* > *vōl*. Verbs in *-eo* generally keep this distinction; but we find *mōva*, *somōna*, *tēma* = *mōveam*, *submōneam*, *tēmeam*. Most verbs in *-iō*, on the other hand, dropped the *i* in Vulgar Latin: *partio* **parto* > *part*, *partiunt* **partunt* > *parton*, *partiam* **partam* > *parta*; *sen*, *senton*, *senta*; *siērf*, *siērvon*, *siērva*; etc. A few verbs show forms both with and without the *e* or *i*: *audio* > *auch* (*audiam* > *auia*), **audio* > *au*; *crēdo* > *crē*, **crēdeo* > *crei*²; *vīdeo* > *vei*², **vīdo* > *ve*.

161. Verbs in *-ng-* naturally developed a palatal consonant before *e* or *i* (§ 73, Ng'), but not before other vowels: *cīngēre* > *cēnher*, *cīngo* > *cēnc*, *cīngit* > *cēnh*, *cīngam* > *cēnga*; so *fēnher*, *ōnher*, *plānher*, *ponher*, etc. The palatal was carried by analogy into the parts that were originally without it: hence the double forms *cēnc cēnh*, *cēngon cēnhon*, *cēnga cēnha*, etc. These double forms led *tenē*, *venir* to adopt *tenc*, *venē*, *tenga*, *venga*, beside the regular *tenh*, *venh*, *tenha*, *venha*. Such forms as these, supported by *derc* < *de-ērigo*, *dic* < *dico*, *prec* < *prēco*, *sēc* < **sequo*, *trac* < **trago*, etc., afforded a starting-point for an ending *-c*, adopted by some other verbs in the 1st pers. sg. of the present indicative: *pērdo* < *pērt pērc*, *pr(ēh)ēndo* > *pren prenc*, *remaneo* > *remanh remanc*, etc.

¹ Also, by analogy, *iassēr*.

² Raimon Vidal says that *crei*, *vei* are the proper forms for the 1st pers. sg. of the pres. indicative.

PECULIAR FORMS.

162. The following verbs have individual peculiarities that call for special mention:—

(1) **Anar** (< *annāre*), 'to go', takes most of its present from *vadēre*: indicative, *vau vauc* (analogy of *estau estauc*), *vas, va vai* (analogy of *fai*), *andm, andtz, van vaun* (analogy of *estan estaun*); subjunctive, *an* or *vaza* (< *vadam*) *vaia* (analogy of *vai* and of *traia*), *vaga* (analogy of *traga*), etc.; imperative, *vai* (analogy of *fai*), *andtz*.

(2) **Aucire** (< *occidēre*: § 43) has in the pres. indicative 3d sg. *auci* (< *occidit*) and *aucis* (analogy of *aucizēm, aucizētz*). Cf. *auzir, caire, rire, traire, vezér*. These forms were doubtless helped by the analogy of *ditz* (< *dīcit*), *dütz, fatz, iatz, letz* (< *llet*), *platz, tatz*.

(3) **Auzir** (< *audire*) has in the pres. indicative 3d sg. *au* (< *audit*) and *aus* (analogy of *auzēm, auzētz*). Cf. *aucire, caire, rire, traire, vezér*. See also § 160.

(4) **Aver** (< *habēre*) has in the pres. indicative: *ai* (< *habeo*: § 73, βy), *as, a, avēm, avētz* (see §§ 167, 168), *an aun*; see § 137, (1). There is no trace of **ho*. Instead of *ai*, the dialects of Aude, Tarn, Tarn et Garonne, and Haute-Garonne have *ei* (cf. *Gram.*, II, p. 304), which probably developed first in the future (§ 152, 1) through the analogy of the preterit ending *-ei* which took the place of *-ai*: *amāvi *amai* > **amai amei* (§ 175), then *amarai* > *amarei*, then *ai* > *ei*. The pres. subjunctive is *aia* (< *habeam*: § 73, βy). For the imperative, see § 156.

(5) **Caire cazér** (< *cadēre *cadēre*) has in the pres. indicative 3d sg. *ca* (< *cadit*) *cai* (analogy of *brai* < **bragit, fai, trai* < **tragit, vai*) *cas* (analogy of *cazēm, cazētz*: cf. *aucire, auzir, rire, traire, vezér*).

(6) **Conôisser** (< *cognōscēre*) has in the pres. indicative 1st sg. *conosc* (< *cognōsco*) and *conôis* (analogy of 2d and 3d sg., *conôisses, conôis*).

(7) **Creire** (< *crēdēre*): pres. subjunctive *creza* (< *crēdam*) and *crega* (analogy of *diga, sega, traga*). See also § 160.

(8) **Créisser** (< *crēsēre*): pres. subjunctive *cresca* (< *crēscam*) and *crega* (analogy of *diga, sega, traga*, and of the imperfect subjunctive *creguēs*).

(9) **Dar** (< *dare*): *dau* (< **dao*), *daun* (< **daunt*); see § 137, (1).

(10) **Destruire** (< **destrügēre = destrüēre*): analogy of *agēre, iğēre*, etc. Cf. *traire*. **Destrügit* > *destrüi*.

(11) *Dever* (< *debère*) has in the pres. indicative 1st sg., beside *dech dei* (§ 160), *dec* (analogy of *dic*, *prec*, *sec*, *trac*, and perhaps of the preterit *dec*).

(12) *Dire* (< *dūcere*): *dic* (< *dīco*) *diu* (cf. § 51, 3; § 65, G, 1); *ditz* (< *dīcit*) *di* (analogy of *fui*, *trai*, and of imperative *dī* < *dīc*); *dīzon* (analogy of *ditz*, *dizēm*, *dizētz*); *diga dia* (both < *dīcam*: § 65, G). For the imperative, see § 156.

(13) *Düre* (< *dūcere*): *dütz* (< *dūcit*) *düi* (analogy of *destrüi*, *trai*).

(14) *Eissir* (< *exīre*): *iesc*, *iescon*, *iesca*, analogy of *conosc*, *florisc*, etc.; for vowel, see § 159, (2).

(15) *Ēsser estre* (< **ēssēre* = *ēsse*). Pres. indicative: *sūm* > *son so* (§ 82, M), then, by the analogy of *ai* and *fui*, *soi sui*; *ēs* became *est iest*, perhaps through *ēs tu* > *ēs-t-u* > *est-tü*, supported by the analogy of the preterit ending of the 2d sg. (*vos vendētz*, *tü vendēst* or *vendiēst*, so, to match *vos etz*, a form *tü est* or *iest*); *ēst* became *ēs*, probably through such combinations as *que's* (understood as *qu'ēs*); *šimū'*, which existed in Latin beside *sūmus* (*Rom.*, XXI, 347), gave *šem*, while from *ēstis* there was constructed an **ēsmus* > *ēsmes* (rare), and from *etz* a form *ēm* (very common); *ēstis* > *ēstz etz* (§ 78, 2); *šunt* > *son so* (§ 83, Nt). Pres. subjunctive: *šim*, *šis*, etc., were replaced in V. L. by **šlam*, **šlas*, etc. (on the analogy of *fiam*, *faciam*, etc.), which gave *sía sías sía siám siätz*, *sían sion*; we find also *seia*, etc., formed apparently on *deia*, *veia*. Imperative borrowed from subjunctive.

(16) *Estar* (< *stare*). Pres. indicative: *estáu* (< **stao*) *estduc* (§ 161); *estás* (< *stas*); *está* (< *stat*) *estdi* (analogy of *fui*, *trai*); *estám* (< *stamu'*); *estátz* (< *statis*) *estáitz* (after *fuitz*); *están* (< *stant*) *estáun* (< **staunt*); see § 137, (1). Pres. subjunctive: *estía*, etc., *estēia*, etc., patterned on *sia*, *seia*; also *estēi*, perhaps a cross between *esteia* and **esté* < *stem*. Imperative: *está*, *estáitz*.

(17) *Faire far* (< *facēre* **fare*): § 137, (1). Pres. indicative: *fatz* (< *facio*) *fau* (analogy of *dau*, *estau*) *fac fauc* (§ 161); *fas* (< **fas*); *fatz* (< *facit*) *fa* (< **fat*) *fai* (influence of *fuire*, *faim*, *fuitz*, and of *trai*); *faim* (< *facimū'*: § 167, 1) *fam* (< **famu'*) *fazēm* (see *facētz*); *faitz* (< *facitlis*) *fatz* (< **fatis*) *fazētz* (analogy of regular verbs, *crezētz*, etc.); *fan* (< **fant*) *faun* (analogy of *dau*, *estaun*). Pres. subjunctive: *faça fussa*, etc. (< *faciam*, etc.). Imperative: *fui* (< *fac*); *fatz faitz* (borrowed from indicative) *fait* (< *facite*).

(18) *Lazér* (< *jacēre*), also *iassér* (influence of *ias* < *iatz* < *jacet*, and of

iassa?): *iatz* (<*jacet*) *iai* (analogy of *fai, trai*); *iassa* (<*jaceam*) *iaia* (analogy of *traia, vaia*).

(19) *Movér moure* (<*movère *mōvère*): *mova* (<**mōvam = mōveam*) *moga* (analogy of *traga*).

(20) *Partir* (<*partire*): *part* (<**parto = partio*) *parc* (§ 161); so *parta parga*.

(21) *Perdre* (<*pērdère*): *pert perc, perda perga*; see § 161.

(22) *Plazér plaire* (<*placère *placère*): *platz* (<*placet*) *plai* (analogy of *fai, trai*); *plassa* (<*placeam*) *plaiā* (analogy of *traia, vaia*).

(23) *Podér* (<**potēre = pōsse*): see § 137, (1). Pres. indicative: *posc* (<*pōssum* influenced by *cognōsco*) *puosc puesc* (analogy of *puoc puec* <*pōtus*), *puecs* (? <**pōts* <**pōtsum + puec*), *pois* (<**pōsseo*); *potz* (<*pōtes*); *pot* (<**pōtet = pōtest*); *podēm* (<**potēmu*); *podētz* (<**potētis*); *pōden* (<**potent*) *pōdon, pon* (analogy of *potz, pot*, and *son* <*sūnt*). Pres. subjunctive: *posca puosca puesca* (like *posc puosc puec*), etc.; *poissa* (<**pōsseam*), etc.

(24) *Prendre* (<*prēndère = prehēndère*) *penre* (see § 71, end): *pren* (<*prēndo*) *prenh* (analogy of *tenh, venh*) *prenc* (§ 161); so *prenda preinha prenga*.

(25) *Rire* (<**rīdère*): *ri* (<*rīdet*) *ritz* (analogy of *rizēm, rizētz*; cf. *aucire, auzir, caire, traire, vezér*); *ria* (<*rīdeam*?).

(26) *Sabér* (<**sapēre*): see § 137, 1. Pres. indicative: *sai sei* (analogy of *ai ei* from *avér*); *saps*; *sap*; *sabēm* (<**sapēmu*); *sabētz* (<**sapētis*); *sāben* (<**sapent*) *sābon*. Pres. subjunctive: *sapcha* (<*sāpiam*). Imperative from subjunctive.

(27) *Tazér taire* (<*tacēre *tacēre*): *tatz* (<*tacet*) *tai* (analogy of *taire* and of *fai, trai*).

(28) *Tenér* (<*tenēre*): *tenh* (<*tēneo*) *tenc* (§ 161); so *tenha tenga*.

(29) *Traire* (<**tragēre*, perhaps also **tracēre, = trahēre*): *trac* (<**trago* or **traco*) *trai* (§ 63, 6)¹; *trai* (<**tragit*) *tra* (analogy of *da, esta, fa, va*) *tratiz* (<**tracit*?; cf. *aucire, auzir, caire, rire, vezér*); *trāzon* (analogy of *tratiz*); *traga traia* (both <**tragam*).

(30) *Vezér* (<*vidère*): *vei* (<*video*) *vec* (§ 161); *ve* (<*videt*) *ves* (analogy of *vezēm, vezētz*; cf. *aucire, auzir, caire, rire, traire*). Imperative from subjunctive.

¹ According to Raimon Vidal, *trac* is the only correct form.

(31) **Volér** (< **volēre* = *vēlle*): see § 137, (1). Pres. indicative: *vuelh* (< **vðleo*); *vols* (< **vðles*); *vol* (< **vðlet*); *volém* (< **volēmu*)¹; *volétz* (< **volētis*); *vðlon* (< **vðlent*). Pres. subjunctive: *vuelha* (< **vðleam*), *vuelhas*, *vuelha*, *vulhām*, *vulhātz*, *vuelhan*. Imperative from subjunctive.

163. In verse the present subjunctive ending *-ia* sometimes counts as one syllable: *siätz*. Cf. § 153, 1.

PERSONAL ENDINGS².

164. (1) In the first person singular final *-o* and *-em* regularly disappeared: *amo* > *am*, *amem* > *am*. When, however, the *-o* or *-em* was preceded by a consonant group requiring a supporting vowel (§ 52), the ending was regularly retained as *-e*: *dūbito* > *dopte*, *sūffēro* > *suffre*, *trēmūlem* > *tremble*.

Through the analogy of *ai*, *crei*, *dei*, *soi*, *vei*, and the 1st pers. sg. of the preterit, this *-e* was in the indicative generally changed at an early date to *-i*: **cōpēro* > *cobre* *cōbri*, **opēro* > *obre* *ōbri*; so *impleo* **implō* > *ompli*. This *-i* (occasionally *-e*) was then taken as a distinctive ending of the 1st pers. sg., and was added to many verbs that needed no supporting vowel: *auzir*, *au auze*; *azorar*, *azor azōri*; *cantar*, *can canti*; *corre*, *cor corri*; *mētre*, *mēt meti*; *prezar*, *pretz prezi*; *remirar*, *remir remire remiri*; *respondre*, *respon respondi*; *sentir*, *sen senti*; *vendre*, *vēn vendi*.

In the subjunctive, when a final vowel was required, *-e* was usually kept; it was also extended to some verbs that did not need it: *acabe*, *done*, *mire*, *plōre*. Very rarely an unnecessary *-i* was added instead of *-e*: *laissar*, *lais laissi*.

(2) The ending *-am* regularly gave *-a*: *audiam* > *auia*.

¹ *Volemus* occurs repeatedly in 7th century Latin.

² Cf. O. Schmidt, *Ueber die Endungen des Präsens im Altprovenzalischen*, 1887.

165. In the **second person singular** final *-as* regularly remained, and *-ēs* and *īs* became *-s* (or, when a supporting vowel was required, *-es*): *amas* > *amas*; *valēs* > *vals*, *sapīs* > *saps*, *partīs* > *partz*; *dūbītēs* > *doptes*. Cf. § 82, S. Sometimes, especially in late texts, *-s* is expanded into *-es*: *canz cantes*, *partz partes*, *saps sapes*, *vals vales*; so *floris florisses*, etc.

Final *-a* remained, and *-ē* and *-ī* fell: *ama* > *ama*, *tēne* > *ten*, *crēde* > *cre*, *partī* > *part*.

166. In the **third person singular** final *-at* became *-a*, *-ēt* and *-it* fell (but remained as *-e* when a supporting vowel was needed): *amat* > *ama*, *amet* > *am*, *tēnet* > *ten te*, *vēnit* > *ven ve*; *trēmūlet* > *tremble*. Cf. § 82, T.

167. In the **first person plural** the final *-s* disappeared early, *s* being perhaps regarded as a distinctively second person ending¹. The rare form *esmes* = *sūmus* is the only one that retains the *s*: cf. § 162, (15).

Then *-āmu'*, *-ēmu'* gave regularly *-am*, *-em*: *cantāmus* > *cantām*, *habēmus* > *avem*. Likewise *-īmu'*, through the analogy of *-āmu'*, *-ēmu'*, came to take the accent on its penult, and then regularly developed into *-em*: *crēdīmus* **credīmu'* > *crezem*. This *-em* of the second and third conjugations passed into the fourth, and entirely displaced the *-im* that would have been the regular representative of *-īmu'*: *partīmus* > **partīm* *partem*.

1. In *faim* < *facīmu'* the old accentuation apparently survives: cf. § 52, (4), 1.

2. In some dialects of Béarn, Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphiné, *-m* apparently becomes *-n*: *devén*, *havén*, *volén*; so *aurián*, *trobarén*, *segrián* (cf. § 152, 1; § 153, 1). Cf. § 65, M, 1.

¹ The loss of *-s* is not confined to the Provençal territory: it occurs also in western France, Catalonia, and the Engadine.

168. In the second person plural *-ātis* regularly gave *-atz*: *amātis* > *amatz*, *audiātis* > *aiatz*. The regular form from *-ētis* is *-etz*, which we find kept in the future (*veiretz*) and in the present subjunctive (*cantetz*); in the present indicative it was replaced by *-etz*, probably through the analogy of *etz* < *ēstis*: *habētis* > *avetz* *avetz*, **potētis* > *podetz* *podetz*, so *sezetz*, *valetz*, etc.; the rare *avetz* and *podetz* are the only forms that preserve *e*. The ending *-itis*, taking the accent on its penult (cf. § 167), became **-etz*, then *-etz*: *crēditis* > *crezetz*. This *-etz* also displaced the *-itz* that would have been regular in the fourth conjugation: *partitis* > *partetz*.

The final *-tz* was reduced, in some of the principal dialects, to *-s* (§ 64): *cantás*, *sezēs*, *partēs*. In other dialects it was replaced very early by *-t* (§ 64): *aiúat*, *avet*, *passát*, *podet*; so *partiret*, etc.

1. In *faits* < *factis* the old accentuation apparently survives.

169. In the third person plural *-ant*, *-ent*, *-unt* gave respectively *-an* *-ant*, *-en*, *-on* *-o* (§ 83, Nt): *amant* > *áman* *ámant*, *audiant* > *áuian* *áuiant*; *valent* > *válen*, *ament* > *ámen*; *vēndunt* > *vendon* *vendo*. In Languedoc *-an* was replaced by *-on* or *-o* in the 13th century; in other regions, later: *ámon*, *chanto* ls, *coménso* l. The *Boeci* has *-en* for *-an*: *amen*, *monten*. In Gascony and some of the Limousin territory *-en* partially displaced *-on* (*floríssen*, *párten*, *venden*), elsewhere *-on* or *-o* displaced *-en* (*válon*).

IMPERFECT INDICATIVE.

170. In the first conjugation *-abam* regularly gave *-ava*. In the second, through the analogy of *aþéa* < *habēbam* (§ 153), *-ēbam* came to be replaced, in southern Gaul, by *-éa*, which regularly changed to *-ía* (§ 26). In the third, *-iēbam* regu-

larly became *-ēbam* (§ 40, 1); and this and original *-ēbam* were replaced by the *-ēa* > *-īa* of the second conjugation. In the fourth, *-ībam*, which had in the accented syllable the characteristic vowel of the conjugation, crowded out *-iēbam*; *-ībam* then lost its β through the analogy of the second and third conjugations. We have, then, in Provençal, only two sets of endings: *-āva*, etc., in the first conjugation; *-īa*, etc., in the second, third, and fourth.

amáva	vezía	fazía	partía
amávas	vezías	fazías	partías
amáva	vezía	fazía	partía
amavám	veziám	faziám	partiám
amavátz	veziátz	faziátz	partiátz
amávan	vezían	fazían	partían

1. In poetry *ia* is sometimes counted as one syllable: *aviân*, *deviân*.
2. For some subsequent developments of western dialects, see Meyer Lübke, *Gram.*, II, p. 326.
3. For the personal endings, see §§ 164-169.
4. *Esser* has: *ęra*, *ęras*, *ęra*, *erám*, *erátz erás*, *ęran ęron ęro*.

PRETERIT, OLD CONDITIONAL, AND IMPERFECT SUBJUNCTIVE.

171. These parts are all formed from the same stem, that of the Latin perfect: cf. § 141, (2). Ex.: *cantei*, *canęera*, *canteę*; *vendei*, *vendeęra*, *vendeę*; *partí*, *partíra*, *partís*; *vi*, *vira*, *vis*; *deę*, *deęra*, *deęę*.

PRETERIT.

172. Preterits which stress the ending throughout are called *weak*; those which do not stress the ending throughout are called *strong*: *partí*, *partíst*, *partí*, *partím*, *partítz*, *partíron* is weak; *saup*, *saubíst*, *saup*, *saubém*, *saubétz*, *sáubron* is strong. Verbs of the first and fourth conjugations regularly

have weak preterits (amei, finf). Verbs of the second and third, with very few exceptions, originally had strong preterits (*placui* > plac, *feci* > fis): many of them, however, developed weak preterits either in Vulgar Latin or in Provençal (*irasquei*, *nasquei*, *tessei* *tesquei*, *visquei*); some assumed a weak form in -i in the 1st pers. sg. (*dis dissí*, *pris prenguí*, *remas remanguí*, *trais traguí*: cf. §§ 173, 177); *querre*, on the other hand, substituted a strong preterit (*quis*, etc.) for a weak one.

173. (1) Final -i, in the first pers. sg., doubtless remained through the earlier stages of Provençal (*habui* > águi, *dixi* > díssi: cf. § 51, (2)). Before it fell, it changed an accented e in the preceding syllable to i (*vēni* **vēnuī* > **vengui* vinc): cf. § 27; occasionally, however, the e was kept, through the analogy of the other persons (*pris prēs*). Sometimes, instead of falling, the -i took the accent (following the analogy of the fourth conjugation) and remained: águi > ac or aguí, díssi > dis or dissí (cf. § 177).

When the -i was immediately preceded by an accented vowel, it regularly formed a diphthong with that vowel, and did not fall (*fuī* > füi): cf. § 51, (3); but -fi was simplified to -i (*partivī partū* > partí).

Before enclitic l, -ei -iei were often reduced to -e -ie: cantie l.

(2) In the 2d pers. sg., -stī became -st, a preceding e being changed to i (§ 27): *partistī* > partíst, *debutstī* > deguíst; sometimes, through the analogy of the 2d pers. pl., e remains (*venguest*: cf. § 27, 2). Occasionally the final -t disappears: aníest anies, fezíst fezís.

(3) The -t of the 3d pers. sg. was lost in strong preterits: *placuit* > plac, *vidit* > vi. In weak preterits, it was retained

by most dialects after *é*, and by many after *í*: *donet doneç*, *vendet vendeç*; *partí partíft*. Cf. § 82, T.

(4) In the 1st pers. pl., *-mus -mu'* (see § 167) was reduced to *-m*: *vīdīmu' > vim*.

(5) The *-stis* of the 2d pers. pl. regularly became *-tz* (§ 78, 2), later in many dialects *-s* (§ 64): *debuīstis > deguetz degues*.

(6) The *-runt* of the 3d pers. pl. regularly gave *-ron* or *-ro* (§ 83, Nt): *partīrunt > partīron partīro*, *vidērunt > viron viro*. In some dialects *-en* is substituted for *-on*: *fūērunt > fōron fōren* (cf. § 169).

The *e* before *-runt*, which in classic Latin was usually long, was always short in Vulgar Latin when it was preserved at all: *amavērunt > amārunt*, *fēcērunt*.

WEAK PRETERITS.

174. (1) In the first and fourth conjugations we find in Latin the following endings:—

<i>-āvī</i>	<i>-ātī</i>	<i>-āvīmus</i>	<i>-ivī</i>	<i>-īī</i>	<i>-ivīmus</i>
<i>-āvīstī</i>	<i>-āvīstis</i>	<i>-āvīstis</i>	<i>-ivīstī</i>	<i>-īstī</i>	<i>-ivīstis</i>
<i>-āvīt</i>	<i>-āvīt</i>	<i>-āvērunt</i>	<i>-ārunt</i>	<i>-ivīt</i>	<i>-īīt</i>
<i>-āvīt</i>	<i>-āvīt</i>	<i>-āvērunt</i>	<i>-ārunt</i>	<i>-ivīt</i>	<i>-īīt</i>
<i>-āvīt</i>	<i>-āvīt</i>	<i>-āvērunt</i>	<i>-ārunt</i>	<i>-ivīt</i>	<i>-īīt</i>

The popular speech preferred in every case the shortened form, and generally reduced *-āvīmus*, *-ivīmus* to *-āmus*, *-īmus* (in southern Gaul *-āmu'*, *-īmu'*: § 167), on the analogy of the 2d pers. sg. and pl.

(2) In the second conjugation a few verbs (*delēre*, *flēre*, *nēre*, *-olēre*, *-plēre*, *viēre*) had similar endings (*delēvī*, etc.), which were doubtless contracted in like fashion in so far as these words were in common use. Most verbs of this conjugation, however, had strong preterits (*tacēre*, *tacui*; *vidēre*, *vidī*: etc.).

(3) The third conjugation had in classic Latin no weak endings corresponding to those of the first, second, and fourth; but the vulgar speech developed a set in the following manner. Compounds of *dare* formed their perfect in *-didi* (*perdidi*); this *-didi*, in accordance with the principle set forth in § 16, 3, came to be pronounced *-dēdi* (*condēdi*); and *-dēdi*, probably through dissimilation¹, was shortened to *-dei* (**credēi*). With this form as a starting-point, a weak preterit was created on the analogy of those of the other conjugations, the endings being something like *-ei*, *ēsti*, *-et*, *-emus -emu'*, *-estis*, *-erunt*. This inflection was probably extended to some verbs outside the *-dēre* class (**battēi*, etc.?).

175. (1) In Provençal the weak inflection disappeared from the second conjugation, *delēre* and *-plēre* passing into the fourth, and the other weak verbs going out of use.

(2) Verbs of the fourth conjugation (except *venir*) all took the weak endings *-i*, *-ist*, *-ī*, *-īm*, *-itz*, *-iron*: *partī*, *partīst*, *partī*, *partīm*, *partītz*, *partīron*. Irregular verbs either disappeared or became regular (*sensī* = *sentī*), with the exception of *venīre* > *venir* (*vinc*).²

(3) The new weak endings of the third conjugation developed into *-ei*, *-est*, *-et*, *-ém*, *-etz*, *-eron*: *vendēi*, *vendēst*, *vendēt*, *vendém*, *vendētz*, *venderon*. In the 1st pers. sg. the *e* often broke (*vendiēi*), and the diphthong was sometimes carried into the 2d pers. sg. (*vendiēst*). These endings were considerably extended in Provençal (*cazēt*, etc.), and were occasionally attached to a strong preterit stem (*nasquet*, *tesquet*, *venquet*, *visquet*). Most verbs, however, kept their

¹ Cf. the reduction of *habēbam* to *aβea*: § 153.

² *Tenēr tenir* really belongs to the second conjugation.

strong preterit (mis, conoc). The *-ivī* perfect disappeared from the third conjugation: *quæsivī* > **quāsī* > *ques*.

(4) The first conjugation discarded its own weak endings, and substituted those of the third: *cantēi cantiei, cantest cantiet, cantet, cantém, cantetz, canteron*. This strange phenomenon seems to have originated as follows: *dare, dēdi* > *dar, deī*; from *dar* the ending *-ei* was readily extended to *estar (estei)*; and from these two very common verbs it spread to the whole first conjugation.

Irregular verbs (except *dare, stare*) either disappeared or became regular.

1. According to Meyer-Lübke, *Gram.*, II, p. 304, Latin *-ai* became by phonetic process *-ei* in Vulgar Latin, and *-ei* or *-iei* in Provençal. There seems to be no evidence to support this theory. Cf. § 23, 2.

2. In the dialects of Béarn and Catalonia the original *a* remains in some parts of the preterit.

176. A final *-c*, which developed in the strong *-ui* preterits (§ 184), often became attached to the 3d pers. sg. of weak preterits of the fourth conjugation: *floric, fugic, iauzic, partic*.¹ It was sometimes extended to other weak preterits: *chantec, entendec, nasquec*,² *parec*.³ We find also a 3d pers. pl. *cazegron*, etc., and even a 1st pers. sg. *ameguí*, etc. In some western dialects the final *-c* was adopted by the whole first conjugation: *donec, portec*, etc.

177. Some strong preterits occasionally assumed weak endings:—

(1) In the 1st pers. sg. several verbs in *-s* sometimes either added an *-í* or shifted the stress to an originally unaccented

¹ According to Raimon Vidal, this is the regular ending of the 3d pers. sg. of the fourth conjugation.

² In *nasquec* the *ui* ending occurs twice.

³ Beside *parec*, coming perhaps from a V. L. **parēvit* **parēvuit*.

final -i (cf. §§ 172, 173): *dis dissí, pris presí, quis quesí, respos respozí*. A few verbs in -c did the same: *aic aiguí, bec beguí, conoc conoguí, saup saubí, vinc venguí, vòlc volguí*. An ending -guí being thus established, this syllable was sometimes added to preterits not of the -c class: *costrenguí, destrenguí, prenguí, remanguí, restrenguí, traguí*.

(2) In the 3d pers. sg. weak endings are rare: *ac aguèt, venc venguèt*.

(3) In the 3d pers. pl. the weak ending is not uncommon in -s preterits: *diron disseron, düistrent düisseron, mesdren mezeron, preson preseron, remastrent remazeron, traisseron*. We probably have to deal here, as in (1), with a shift of accent—*dixérunt* > **dísseron* > *disseron*, etc.: see § 49, (2). The same thing may be true of such a form as *agueron*, beside *ágron*, from **áßwerunt* = *habuérunt*; such a form as *visqueron*, on the other hand, is doubtless imitative.

STRONG PRETERITS.

178. (1) The reduplicative perfects were discarded in Vulgar Latin, with the exception of *dědi* (and its compounds) and *stěti*, whose reduplicative character was no longer apparent. *Cecidi* became **cadui* or **cadéi*; the rest either disappeared or passed into the -*sī* class: *cucūrri* > **cūrsī*, *momōrdi* > **mōrsī*, *pepēndi* > **pē(n)sī*, *pupūgi* > **punxī*, *tełēndi* > **tē(n)sī*, *tełēgi* > **taxī* **tanxī*.

(2) The -*i* perfects were greatly reduced in number in Vulgar Latin. Some disappeared (*ēgi*), some became weak (*fūgi* > **fugīi* > *fūgi*); others passed into the -*sī* or the -*ui* class: *prehēndi* > **prē(n)sī* > *pris*; *bībīi* > **bībuii* > *bec*, *vēniī* > **vēnuii* > *venc*. In Provençal only three -*i* verbs remained: *fēcī* > *fis*, *fui* > *fui*, *vīdī* > *vi*.

(3) Of the *-sī* class (including *-ssī* and *-xī*) over twenty verbs were preserved in Vulgar Latin (*dīxī*, *excūssī*, *misī*, *traxī*, etc.), and about the same number passed into this class from others (*absco(n)sī*, **fraxī* **sūrsī*, etc.): cf. (1) and (2) above. In Provençal nearly half the verbs of the second and third conjugations have *-sī* preterits: *rema(n)sī* > *remas*, **respō(n)sī* > *respos*¹.

(4) The *-uī* class held its own very well in Vulgar Latin (*placūi*, etc.) and received some additions (*natus sum* > **nacūi*, *sustūli* > **tōlūi*, *vēni* > **vēnuī*, *vīci* > **vīncūi*, *vīxi* > **vīscūi*, etc.)². To this class belonged, in Vulgar Latin (and, according to Meyer-Lübke³, in classic Latin also), all perfects in *-vī*, this ending being pronounced *-wūi*, later *-wwi* or *-βwi*: *cognōvī* > **conōvuī* > *conoc*, *crēvit* > **crēvuit* > *crec*, *mōvī* > **mōvuī* > *moc*. Cf. § 148. In Provençal not far from half the verbs of the second and third conjugations have *-uī* preterits. For a combination of a *-c* < *-uī* stem with a weak ending, see § 175, (3). For the extension of *-c* < *-uī* to other conjugations, see § 176.

179. In the 1st pers. pl. the accent was shifted to the ending, to make this form correspond to the 2d pers. sg. and pl.: *fēcīmus* > **fēcīmu'* > *fezem* (cf. *fecistī* > *fezist*, *fecistis* > *fezetz*), **prē(n)sīmus* > **presīmu'* > *prezem*, *debūīmus* > *deβwīmu'* > *deguem*. Exceptions are *fūīmus* > *fom*, *vidīmus* >

¹ All verbs in *-ndre* took the perfect in *-sī*: *ascos*, *defes*, *pris*, *respos*, etc. *Lēgēre* took **lēxi* > *leis* through the analogy of the p. p. *lētum*. So *fīgēre* took **fīxi* > *feis* through *fīctum*; *frangēre*, *pīngēre*, *tangēre* did likewise (*frais*, *peis*, *tais*); and in Provençal *cénher* < *cīngēre*, *esténher* < *exstīnguēre*, *plánher* < *plan-gēre* followed the example of these (*ceis*, *esteis*, *plais*): hence all verbs in *-nher* have the preterit in *-s*.

² See *Zs.*, XXVIII, 97.

³ *Gram.*, II, p. 357.

vim; in these verbs the 2d pers. forms also are monosyllabic (füst, fötz; vist, vitz).

180. We find in some verbs an irregular 3d pers. pl. without -r-, made by adding -on or -en to the 3d pers. sg., the final consonant of which is voiced in all verbs in which it is voiced in the other persons of the plural: (aucire) aucis, aucíson; (plánher) plais, pláisson; (prenre) preš, prešon; (remanre) remas, remáson; (venir) vënc, vënguen; (volër) vòlc, vòlgon.

1. *Prenre* has *preiron* (beside *preson preseron*), probably through the analogy of *feiron* < *fēcērunt*. *Mairon*, from *maner*, is perhaps to be explained in the same way.

181. (1) Through the change of -e- to -i- by the influence of a final -ī, as described in § 173, (1), a distinction was established between the first and the third person singular of some preterits: *crēvī* > cric, *crēvit* > creç; *fēcī* > fis, *fēcīt* > fëš; **prē(n)sī* > pris, **prē(n)sīt* > preš; *tēnuī* **tēnuī*¹ > tinc, *tēnuit* **tēnuit* > tenc; *vēnī* **vēnuī*¹ > vinc, *vēnit* **vēnuit* > vënc. *Metre*, also, has mis, mës, which may come from **missī* **missīt* (cf. *missum*) = *misī*, *misīt*; or perhaps mis comes from *misī* and mës is analogical. Through the analogy of such forms, *querre* has quis, quës. In the preterit of *poder*, both *pōtuī* and *pōtuit* would regularly have given pòc puòc puèc (§ 37), but pòc was kept for the 3d person, and puòc puèc was used for the 1st. The preterit of *volër* differentiates the two persons similarly — vùèlc, vòlc; here the diphthong (perhaps under the influence of puèc) is borrowed from the present, where we have **vōleo* > vùelh, **vōlet* > vòl (§ 37). *Aver*, likewise, borrows a distinction from the present: aic, ac reproduce the vowels of ai, a; aic + aguī > aguī.

¹ *Tēnuī* and *vēnī* influenced each other.

(2) For *-i* as a characteristic of the first person, see § 177, (1).

(3) For *-c* as a distinctive mark of the third person, see § 176.

182. The three *-i* perfects developed in Provençal as follows: —

(1) *Facēre* > *faire* (**fare* > *far*) has:

<i>fēci</i>	> <i>fis, fezi</i>	<i>fēcimus</i> * <i>fēcimu'</i>	> <i>fezem</i>
<i>fēcisti</i>	> <i>fezist fezis</i>	<i>fēcistis</i>	> <i>fezetz fezes</i>
<i>fēcit</i>	> <i>fetz fēs</i>	<i>fēcērunt</i>	> <i>feiron feiro</i>

1. We do not find, in the 1st pers. sg., as we should expect (§ 65, C'), *fiz* beside *fis*; doubtless the form came early under the influence of *mis*, *pris*, *quis*, etc. For *fezi*, see § 177, (1). There is also a form *fi*, due, perhaps, to the analogy of *vi* < *vidi*; corresponding to *fi* are 3d pers. sg. *fe*, and pl. *fem*, *fes*, *feiron*. A rare *figui* is evidently made on the model of *aigul*, etc. In the 3d pers. sg. we find also *fei*, which seems to be patterned after *feiron* or after the present *fai*.

(2) *Esse* (> **ēssēre* > *ēsser estre*) had originally a long *u* in the perfect. In literary Latin the *u* was shortened, but the popular speech seems to have kept *ū* beside *ū*. The Provençal 1st and 2d pers. sg. apparently come from *fūi*, **fūsti* = *fuisti* (although Pr. *fūi* might be taken from *fūi*), while the other forms presuppose *ū*:

<i>fūi</i>	> <i>fūi</i>	<i>fūimus</i> * <i>fūimu'</i>	> <i>fom</i>
<i>fūisti</i> * <i>fūsti</i>	> <i>fūst fūs</i>	<i>fūistis</i> * <i>fūstis</i>	> <i>fotz fōs</i>
<i>fūit</i> * <i>fūt</i>	> <i>fō, fōn, fōnc</i>	<i>fūērunt</i> * <i>fūrunt</i>	> <i>fōron fōro, fōren</i>

1. A rare *fo* in the 1st pers. sg. seems to be simply borrowed from the 3d. In the 3d pers. sg., *fon* beside *fo* is due to the analogy of *-on -o* in the 3d pers. pl., and, in general, of such double forms as *bon bo, mon mo, son so, ton to*: cf. § 63, (5). *Fōnc* shows the influence of *tenc, venc*.

(3) *Vidēre* > *vezer* has:

<i>vīdi</i>	> * <i>viđi</i> * <i>viđ vi, vic</i>	<i>vīdimus</i> * <i>vīdimu'</i>	> * <i>viđmu</i> * <i>viim vim</i>
<i>vīdisti</i>	> <i>vist vis</i>	<i>vīdistis</i>	> <i>vitz vis</i>
<i>vīdit</i>	> * <i>viđ vi, vit, vic</i>	<i>vīdērunt</i>	> * <i>viđrun viron viro</i>

1. The 1st pers. sg. *vic* is patterned upon *aic* < *habuī*, *cric* < *crēvi*, etc. The 2d pers. forms are irregular, as we should expect **vezist*, **vezetz*: evidently the 2d pers. followed the analogy of the 1st and 3d. In the 3d pers. sg., *vit* and *vic* follow the model of *partit*, *partic*, etc.: see § 173, (3), and § 176.

183. In the *-sī* perfect the 3d pers. pl. presented difficulties. If the *-e-* of the penult fell, an *s* or *z* and an *r* were brought together. Most dialects apparently preserved the *-e-*, and shifted the accent to it (*aucizeron*, *condüisseron*, *disseron*, *prezeron*, *remazeron*, *traisseron*), or else borrowed outright the weak ending (*responderon*): cf. § 49, (2), and § 177, (3). Dialects which lost the *-e-* too early to follow this method, generally suppressed the sibilant (*aucíron*, *díron*, *méron* from *metre*, *remáron*), or omitted the *-r-* and formed the 3d pers. pl. directly from the 3d pers. sg. (*aucízon*, *pláisson*, *prezon*, *remázon*: § 180), or else imitated a preterit of another class (*mairon* from *maner*, *preíron* from *prenre*, doubtless patterned after *feíron* < *fēcērunť*); some borderland dialects kept the sibilant and the *r*, and developed a dental between them (*düystrent* < *dūxērunt*, *meşdren* < *mīsērunt* + **mīssērunt*: § 70, Sr, Zr).

As examples of the *-sī* perfect we may take the preterit of *dire* < *dicēre* and *penre prenre* < *pr(eh)ēndēre*: —

- | | | | |
|-----------------------|--|---|--|
| (1) <i>dīxī</i> | > <i>dis</i> , <i>dissí</i> | <i>dīxīmus</i> * <i>dīxīmu'</i> | > <i>dissem</i> |
| <i>dīxīstī</i> | > <i>dissíst</i> | <i>dīxīstis</i> | > <i>dissetz disses</i> |
| <i>dīxit</i> | > <i>dis</i> | <i>dīxērunt</i> | > <i>disseron</i> , <i>díron</i> <i>diro</i> |
| (2) * <i>prē(n)sī</i> | > <i>pris</i> , <i>preş</i> , <i>presí</i> | * <i>prē(n)stīmus</i> * <i>prēsīmu'</i> | > <i>preseş</i> |
| * <i>prē(n)sīstī</i> | > <i>presíst</i> | * <i>prē(n)stīstis</i> | > <i>presetz preseş</i> |
| * <i>prē(n)sīt</i> | > <i>preş</i> | * <i>prē(n)sērunt</i> | > <i>preseşon</i> , <i>preşon</i> ,
[preíron] |

(3) *Escriure* < *scribēre* has, beside *escris* < *scripsī*, a preterit *escrís* (cf. p. p. *escrút* *escrit* *escrich*), in which the *u* is probably due to the influence of the infinitive.

(4) For *dissí*, *présí*, *quesí*, *respozí*, see § 177, (1). For *pris* *pres*, etc., see § 173, (1).

184. In the *-uī* perfect the development depends somewhat upon the consonant preceding the *u*. The treatment of the various cons. + *w* groups, which was discussed in § 72, may be illustrated by *habuít* > *ac*¹, *crēvit* **crēvuít* > *crec*²; *nōcuít* > *noc*³; *sēdit* **sēduít* > *sēc*, *pōtuít* > *pōc*; *valuít* > *valc*⁴, *tēnuít* **tēnuít* > *tēnc*⁵, *mēruít* > *merc*; *sapuít* > *saup*⁶: the noteworthy features are the change of *u* to *-c* (through *w*, *gw*, *g*), the absorption of the preceding consonant unless it be a liquid, a nasal, or a *p*, the preservation of the liquid or nasal, and the metathesis of the *p*.

Aver < *habēre*, *poder* < **pōtēre pōsse*, *voler* < **vōlēre vēlle*, *saber* < **sapēre sapēre* will serve as examples (for the accentuation of the 3d pers. pl., see § 16, 2): —

- | | |
|--|---|
| (1) <i>habuī</i> > <i>ac</i> , <i>aguí</i> , <i>aic</i> , <i>aiguí</i> | <i>habuimus</i> * <i>aβwīmu</i> ' > <i>aguēm</i> |
| <i>habuísti</i> > <i>aguíst</i> | <i>habuístis</i> > <i>aguētz aguēs</i> |
| <i>habuít</i> > <i>ac</i> | <i>habuērunt</i> > <i>ágron ágro</i> , <i>aguēron</i> |

1. For *aguí* (*beguí*, *conoguí*), see § 177, (1). For *aic*, *aiguí*, (*cric*), see § 181, (1). For *aguēron* (*visquēron*), see § 177, (3).

- | | |
|---|--|
| (2) <i>pōtuī</i> > <i>pōc</i> <i>puoc</i> <i>puēc</i> | <i>potuimus</i> * <i>potwīmu</i> ' > <i>poguēm</i> |
| <i>potuísti</i> > <i>poguíst</i> | <i>potuístis</i> > <i>poguētz poguēs</i> |
| <i>pōtuít</i> > <i>pōc</i> , <i>pōt</i> | <i>potuērunt</i> > <i>pōgron pōgro</i> |

1. For *puoc*, see § 181, (1). *Pot* is apparently due to the combined influence of weak preterits and the parts of *poder* in which the dental is preserved.

¹ So *bibuít* > *bec*, *debuít* > *dec*.

² So *cognōvít* > *conoc*, *mōvít* > *moc*.

³ So **ēdcuít* > *coc*, *jacuít* > *iac*, **nascuít* > *nasc*, **pa(s)cuít* > *pac*, *placuít* > *plac*, *tacuít* > *tac*, **tescuít* > *tesc*, **vīncuít* > *venc*, **vīscuít* > *visc*.

⁴ So *caluít* > *calc*, **iðluít* > *tolc*, *vōluít* > *volc*.

⁵ So **vēnuít* > *venc*.

⁶ So *cripuít* > *creup*, *reçpuít* > *receup*.

- (3) *võlui* > *vòlc*, *vuèlc*, *volguí* *voluimus* **voluimu'* > *voiguem*
voluistí > *volguist* *voluistis* > *volguetz volguès*
võluit > *vòlc* *voluèrunt* > *vòlgron vòlgro*

1. For *vuelc* (*tinc, vinc*), see § 181, (1); for *volguí* (*venguí*), § 177, (1).

- (4) *sapui* > *saup*, *saubi* *sapuiamus* **sapwimu'* > *saubem*
sapuistí > *saubíst* *sapuistis* > *saubetz saubès*
sapuit > *saup* *sapuèrunt* > *sáubronsáubro, sáupron*

1. For *saubi*, see § 177, (1). For *sáupron* (*sáupra, saupès, saupúi*), see § 65, P, 3; cf. § 148, (2).

OLD CONDITIONAL.

185. The old conditional came from the Latin pluperfect indicative, which had been supplanted in its pluperfect sense by a compound form, and was gradually restricted in its use to the functions of a preterit, a perfect conditional, and a simple conditional: see § 141, (2). In Provençal it had only the conditional meaning; and as the new conditional rendered it superfluous, it fell into disuse (with the exception of *ágra* and *fora*) in the 13th and 14th centuries: see § 142, (2).

186. In the fourth conjugation the old conditional comes from the contracted form of the pluperfect (*audíram* < *audī-věram*). Weak verbs of the third conjugation constructed a similar form (**vendēram*). First conjugation verbs started with the contracted pluperfect (*amāram* < *amāvěram*), but in Provençal substituted *ē* for *á*, as in the preterit: § 175, (4). The Provençal types of the old conditional of weak verbs are, therefore, represented by: *amēra*, *vendēra*, *auzíra*. The inflection is as follows: —

<i>amēra</i>	<i>amerám</i>	<i>auzíra</i>	<i>auzirám</i>
<i>amēras</i>	<i>amerátz</i>	<i>auzíras</i>	<i>auzirátz</i>
<i>amēra</i>	<i>amēran</i>	<i>auzíra</i>	<i>auziran</i>

187. Strong verbs of the *-i* and the *-ui* classes regularly

took their old conditional directly from the Latin pluperfect: *fēcēram* > *feïra*, *fūcēram* > *foïra*, *vīdēram* > *vira*; *habūcēram* **áb-wēram* (§ 16, 2) > *ágra*, *pōtūcēram* > *poïra*, *vōlūcēram* > *voïra*, *sapūcēram* > *sáubra* *sáupra* (§ 65, P, 3). Of course the Latin pluperfect, and therefore the Provençal conditional, followed the shift of the perfect if it changed from one class to another: *vēni* > **vēnuī*, hence **vēnūcēram* > *veïgra*. The inflection is as follows: —

<i>foïra</i>	<i>forám</i>	<i>ágra</i>	<i>agrám</i>
<i>foïras</i>	<i>forátz forás</i>	<i>ágras</i>	<i>agrátz agrás</i>
<i>foïra</i>	<i>foïran</i>	<i>ágra</i>	<i>ágran</i>

1. *Faire* has *fēra* (cf. *feron*) beside *fēira*.
2. For *sáupra*, cf. § 148, (2), and § 184, (4), 1, and § 192.
3. *Devēra* has beside *dēgra* a form *dēura*, evidently influenced by the new conditional, *deuríra*.
4. *Páisser*, *plazér* have beside *págra*, *plágra* the forms *paissēra*, *plazēra*.

188. Strong verbs of the *-sī* class regularly form their old conditional on the same plan as the 3d pers. pl. of the preterit (§ 183): (*dixēram*) *díra*, cf. *díron*; (**prēsēram*) *preïra*, cf. *preïron*; (*arsēram*) *aršera*, cf. *aršeron*.

189. It will be noted that in all verbs, weak and strong, the old conditional may be constructed from the 3d pers. pl. of the preterit by changing *-on* to *-a*.

IMPERFECT SUBJUNCTIVE.

190. The Provençal imperfect subjunctive came from the Latin pluperfect subjunctive, which in Vulgar Latin assumed the functions of the imperfect and generally displaced it, its own place having been taken by a compound form: see § 141, (2).

191. For weak verbs the basis was the contracted form of the first and fourth conjugations (*amāssem* < *amāvīssem*, *audīssem* < *audīvīssem*); weak verbs of third conjugation had a similar analogical form (**vēndēssem*). First conjugation verbs substituted *ē* for *á*, as in the perfect and the old conditional: § 175, (4); § 186. The Provençal types are: *amēs*, *vēndēs*, *auzís*. The inflection is:

<i>amēs</i>	<i>amēssem</i>	<i>auzís</i>	<i>auzíssem</i>
<i>amēsses</i>	<i>amēssetz -ēs</i>	<i>auzísse</i>	<i>auzíssetz -ēs</i>
<i>amēs</i>	<i>amēssen -on -o</i>	<i>auzís</i>	<i>auzísse -on -o</i>

192. Strong verbs regularly made their imperfect directly from the Vulgar Latin form of the pluperfect: *fecíssem* > *fezes*, *fūssem* **fūssem* > *fōs*, *vidíssem* > *vezes*, *veníssem* **venūíssem* > *vengues*; *dixíssem* > *disses*, **pre(n)síssem* > *prezes*; *habuíssem* > *ague*, *potuíssem* > *pogue*, *voluíssem* > *volgue*, *sapuíssem* > *saube* *saupes* (§ 65, P, 3). The inflection is: —

<i>fōs</i>	<i>fōssem</i>	<i>ague</i>	<i>aguessem</i> , <i>acssem</i>
<i>fōsses</i>	<i>fōssetz -ēs</i>	<i>aguesse</i>	<i>aguessetz -ēs</i> , <i>acssetz -ēs</i>
<i>fōs</i>	<i>fōssen -on -o</i>	<i>ague</i>	<i>aguesse -on -o</i>

1. The syncopated forms in the 1st and 2d pers. pl. are common to the *-uī* class: *decsem*, *iaccsem*, *pocsem*, *saupssem*.

2. In the 3d pers. pl. *-an* sometimes takes the place of *-en* or *-on*: *mevæssan*, *saubæssan*. This ending is doubtless borrowed from the present subjunctive and the old conditional.

3. *Vezér* has *vis* beside *vezés*. From *faire* we find in the 3d pers. pl. *fēsson*.

4. *Metre* has *mezés*, due, no doubt, to the analogy of *mes* and of *prezés*.

193. Some dialects have an ending *-a*, *-as*, *-a*, *-ám*, *-átz*, *an*, borrowed from the present subjunctive and the old conditional, but added to the stem of the imperfect subjunctive: *chantessa*, *vendessa*, *floríssa*; *fossa*.

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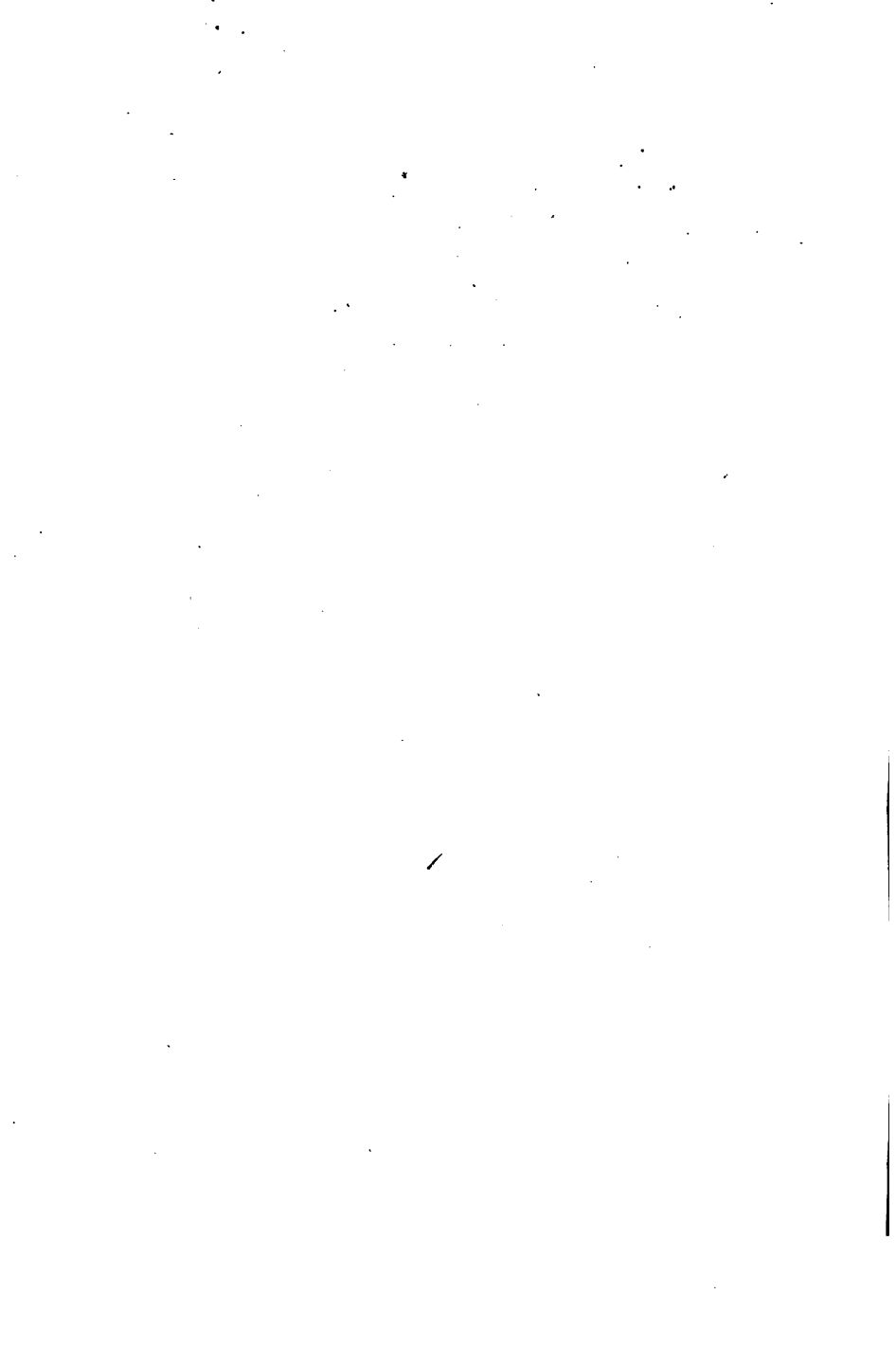
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